

who will work for Socialism in this organization, in my opinion. It has been my experience that the membership of Cincinnati has grown within the last year from 65 members to over 500, and we have got to send special committees around to collect dues and keep them in line, and spend all the money in getting them to the meetings and in advertising and propaganda within our own membership. For many a time from the floor of the Local Cincinnati have I seen the fundamental principles of Socialism dragged in the dust. Now, that is simply because of our loose form of organization. It is entirely too loose, and the thing that will prevent that is high dues. These sentimentalists are not going to run into our organization when they have to pay for it, but when you have low dues where they can come and spit their fire out and go away and come back in three months afterward, then the party will sooner or later cease to be a Socialist Party based on the true principles of Socialism.

DEL. CLARK (Neb.): I consider the proposition to reduce the dues of the national organization to three cents little less than a crime (applause) for this reason: Since last February there never has been a month closed in which there was sufficient funds to pay all the debts of the national organization. We are going into a campaign and if we reduce the dues at the present time to three cents we will simply destroy the work that has been done within the last year. (Applause.)

DEL. GLANZ (N. J.): I am in favor of the report for the simple reason you have decided here this afternoon to provide ways and means to defray the expenses of your delegates to the National Convention. You have also decided to increase the salary of your National Secretary, and for that reason I desire to support the recommendation of the committee.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): From the remarks the proposition would seem to indicate that some one was trying to disrupt the organization. It would seem that there are men on the floor to advocate this thing. That is not the proposition. The question is merely as to the method of expending the money. Shall it be expended through the national office at long range, in organized

states or shall it be extended through the state organizations in their immediate vicinity and in a field that they understand, by methods which they have worked out in their own organization for their own locality? That is the question. It is not any question of crime or anything else. Please get that out of your minds. Second, with regard to the National Committee. You will go further back than February to find the time when there was a national debt over the organization, very much further back. Now, then, please turn that argument the other way, for that is where it belongs. The national debt has practically been paid off. The necessity for heavy dues from the national membership has practically ceased. The membership is growing. The comrades' questions it. There is no question about the growth of the membership in the coming four years, and that is what we are working upon. Another point: We have just made arrangements to-day for adding to the power of the National Committee two more sources of income. These ought to be and will be sources of income. First, the lecture bureau. The uniform rate of pay for these men is at a rate which will probably make it possible in view of the increase in membership, shorter railroad jumps, larger number of appointments made, and so on, to secure something for the national organization on the regular routes of these men. Am I right?

A DELEGATE: No.

DEL. GAYLORD: Well, I think I am, for I have been looking over the ground. We, representing the party in Wisconsin, in the national organization, have helped out the national organization. Now, as to the literary bureau, there is a proposition made that literature shall be published and sold. This will not mean at an exorbitant profit, but a little profit on a great many sales is an ordinary proposition to make money. What we want is an opportunity to distribute literature, to print literature and distribute it. I would rather have a national bureau do that so long as it is a regular bureau and not for profit. Somebody suggested something about the sentimentalists. Who are they? There is not much danger of sentimentalists joining the party. There are not many in Wisconsin, at any rate, joining the party out of sentiment

There is something required when they join the Socialist Party that requires more than mere sentiment. The sentimentalists are the people that stand around with their hands in their pockets wishing they could find something to do for Socialism. I say, "Why don't you join the party?"

DEL. STEDMAN: It costs \$60 per local.

DEL. GAYLORD: It costs the national organization \$60 per local to organize, which is simply to the interest, you see, of the members. The states are rapidly becoming organized. There is less and less use for the expensive work which has been absolutely necessary. I am not kicking about the expense; I am simply showing less and less will be absolutely necessary, and more and more results will follow with the more economic and effective method and unanimous co-operation of the state organizations, with their close fellowship; don't forget that. You cannot spoil fellowship by reducing dues, and you will do more effective work than by this other long-range method which has been in favor up to this time. It seems to me it is for us to consider which is the best method of expending money. We are expending this money. Don't think we are striking a blow at the head of the National Secretary or at the national office. I am sorry the comrades feel so strongly about it. I am simply trying to provide an argument from this side. I am sure some others should provide it also because I am sure they have it in their minds. All the arguments except that of Comrade Stedman have been on the other side. Now, then, don't make the mistake of robbing the local organizations. Rather reduce the amount of local dues to be paid by the branch to the national organization, because the difference can be used to better advantage at home.

Do you get the point? That is the point; stick to it. Use the money in the most effective way, that is at short range. (Applause.) I am asked a question. The question is, What do we hope to accomplish by reducing the dues? I do not propose, nor does Comrade Stedman, to reduce the dues paid into the whole organization. We propose to reduce the percentage of the total dues paid to the national organization.

DEL. HILLQUIT, of the Constitu-

tion Committee: I will just give you briefly the process of reasoning which actuated us in adopting that recommendation. When the question of fixing the dues came up before the committee it was discussed, and we proceeded on this assumption: We cannot have any large bank account now pertaining to the national office, but we know that the work done by the national office has been necessary. Perhaps a little more could have been done, but no superfluous work has been done. As a result there is absolutely no money in the treasury at the office, and some debts are to come on top of this and at a time when we have to have a national provision for a national campaign of the largest dimensions so far as Socialist campaigns are concerned. We are making arrangements to increase the facilities of the national office and add departments to it, adding a literature department which involves, like any investment of money, a need of income. To come at that time, and speak of curtailing the dues to the national office, seems to us absolutely out of place and out of common sense. (Applause.) Now, I suggest to you, comrades, and to Comrades Stedman and Gaylord, they seem to be afraid that our national office will get rich. Let us say this: we are getting reports from the national committee every month or so. We see not only how much money came into the office, but we also see how much was expended and what it was expended for. Whenever we discover that the national office is getting more money than it can properly and profitably employ for the cause of Socialism we will get our twenty locals in five states to move that it be reduced. (Applause.) So far, there is no necessity for it.

Delegate Robbins (Cal.) moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: Discussion is now in order, and Delegate Mills has the floor. Upon which side do you speak, Comrade?

DEL. MILLS: In favor of the three-cent dues.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is in favor of the amendment. No one is in the order but Delegate Mills.

A DELEGATE: I wish to speak next.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then you will have to get the floor.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I wish to speak in favor of the three-cent dues because the motion was not made for two cents. The comrades who have served on the National Committee are aware that I have been in favor of two-cent national dues for a long time and that we have, or I have agreed, not to raise the question solely under the consideration that there were other and more important matters first to be provided for. I do not agree with the sentiment making the dues three cents a month as a basis for the revenues of the national organization. I will give only one illustration. In the State of Kansas we have never had a secretary who has been able to give attention to the work, or at least who has done so, until the first of last January. We have been paying \$100 dollars a week, but yet Kansas has accomplished more since the first day of January than during the two years previous that it has been an organized state. Now, Comrades, if more states, if a dozen states are to have the benefit of this increase, not a reduction of dues, but a different method of expending the dues, it would strengthen our organization and we would have a better local organization to carry on the campaign on the ground where the real battles must be fought anyway. (Applause.)

DEL. SPARGO: I desire to speak in favor of the committee's report. I want to say that I regard it as little less than a crime to reduce the dues to be paid to the national office; I don't regard it as less than a crime. I regard it as a crime against the Socialist Party. (Applause.) I have no doubt whatever that Comrade Mills is in favor of three cents as against five cents. I have no doubt whatever that Comrade Mills is in favor of nothing at all as against three cents. I have no doubt, however, but that Comrade Mills is in favor of a national organization at this time, whatever the cost may be, and I believe there can be nothing more fatal to the interests of the Socialist Party of America than to jeopardize its national organization by cutting short its funds. In the cities and in the states we may raise funds for city and state purposes more readily than we can do it for the national organization, and we cannot afford to say that

the national office must depend upon a begging policy in order that it may carry on its work. (Applause.) What are we talking about? What are we discussing? We have now organizers of the Socialist Party, with a five-cent due, who are waiting for their wages which were too little to begin with and which they ought to have had long ago. We have now \$700, I understand, standing out, owing to the national organizers, workmen like ourselves, whom we haven't got the money to pay, even when the national fee is five cents instead of three. Comrades, from state and city and hamlet there come to the national office, as every one here knows, calls for Socialistic lecturers, calls for the propaganda of this movement, and the national office sits there equipped to send men in everything except the money to send them. (Loud applause.) Comrades, I am opposed to any motion to reduce dues. Should it be carried on the floor of this convention, should this convention betray the interest of the party to that extent, I for one will agitate that the matter be referred to the referendum of the party. (Prolonged applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will now read the first amendment upon which there will be a vote without any further debate.

A DELEGATE: I rise for information.

THE CHAIRMAN: There can be no information granted, Comrade, at this time, except such as you gain from the reading of the Secretary.

THE DELEGATE: Are you aware that the Committee on Constitution has in its hands a report which has not yet been brought before this convention?

THE CHAIRMAN: We don't know anything except that the convention is prepared now to vote upon this question and the delegate will be seated. The Secretary will proceed with the reading of the amendments.

THE SECRETARY: Delegate Bickett, of Ohio, moved to amend section 6 of Article XII by striking out the words "five cents" and inserting "ten cents," and adding after the word "territories" the following: "Five cents of this amount shall be set aside to accumulate to pay the expenses of the

members of the National Committee and the delegates to the National Convention when in regular session."

The question was then put on the amendment of Delegate Bickett as read by the Secretary, and it was defeated.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the next amendment.

THE SECRETARY: The next amendment is one by Comrade Steadman, of Illinois, to amend by striking out the word "five" and to substitute the word "three."

The amendment was put to a viva voce vote, and the result being in doubt, a division was called for. A rising vote was then had with the result that the Chairman declared the motion lost. The announcement of the Chairman was received with loud applause.

The question then recurring upon the original section as reported by the Committee, it was put to a viva voce vote and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee will proceed.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I rise to amend—

THE CHAIRMAN: There is nothing before us to amend. There is no section before us until the Chairman of the Committee reads it. The comrade will please be in order. Proceed.

THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

Section 7 of Article XII was then read by Chairman Hillquit as follows:

"Section 7. All state organizations shall provide for their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate."

The adoption of the section as read was moved and seconded. Motion carried.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I rise to make a motion to insert another clause.

THE CHAIRMAN: To add a new clause. Let us have it.

DEL. BERGER: To add another clause to be known as section 8, to read as follows: "No member of the Socialist Party having been nominated for any political office, shall sign any pledge of any capitalistic political party or organizations. Any member of the Socialist Party elected to any political office shall be considered a representative of the Socialist Party, and a member in the political division in which he is elected, and subject at all

times to the management of the same."

The amendment was seconded.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I wish to speak in favor of the amendment. I believe we have in Eastern Illinois one of the best reasons for the adoption of this new section. We have elected individual members to office there who have on divers occasions refused to carry out their instructions.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: State your point.

DEL. SIMONS: The delegate is bringing a subject matter into this convention that is still undecided in the local party here, and as the other side cannot be heard, I do not believe it is in order.

THE CHAIRMAN: I cannot agree that the question is out of order, but I can agree that it is unwise to take up the time of the convention at this time with a local dispute that belongs before the State Committee.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I will modify that then, Mr. Chairman and Comrades.

DEL. SIMONS: Leave out the state or the district, the specific place, and then it is all right. We all know that it is possible for any individual elected to office to say to his constituents, or rather the membership of the Socialist organization that elected him, to say, "I am not going to vote with you people," and you have a vote where it probably should be three thousand, and you can only account for one thousand of the Socialist Party membership. He can very well say to us, "I owe my allegiance to the electorate," instead of owing his allegiance to the political party by which he was elected. I believe that will be sufficient, and not wishing to take up time any longer, I submit that that is a sufficient reason for passing it.

Motion was made and seconded to lay the amendment on the table.

A viva voce vote was then taken and the result being doubtful, a division was called for. The motion was then put to a rising vote, and declared carried, and accordingly the amendment was tabled.

Article XII was then read by Chairman Hillquit, as follows:

"The location of the headquarters of the party shall be determined by the National Committee."

The adoption of the article as read was moved and seconded.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I move to amend so as to have the article read as follows: "The National headquarters to be in Chicago, Illinois."

Motion seconded.

A motion was then made and seconded to table the amendment, and the question being put, it was carried and the amendment tabled.

The question then recurring on the adoption of the article as reported by the Committee it was put to a viva voce vote and declared adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee will proceed.

Article XIV was then read, as follows:

"This constitution may be amended by a national convention or by a referendum of the party in the manner above provided."

On motion duly seconded and carried, the article was declared adopted as read.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee is now through. We have adopted a motion here to stay in session until the Committee gets through, and I understand they are through. The Committee has the floor.

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): There are a few provisions here which I notice are marked "not considered by all of the Committee." I am frank to say they were not considered by me. The first is withdrawn. I am informed by the Committee. The section withdrawn reads as follows:

"Section 2, Article II. No member of the party in one state or territory shall, under any pretext, interfere with the regular organized movement in any other state."

The Committee recommends the adoption of the last two sections. The first one reads as follows:

"Section 3, Article II. A member who desires to transfer his membership from a local in one state to a local in another state, may do so upon the presentation of his card showing him to be in good standing at the time of asking for such transfer."

Motion was made and seconded to adopt the section as read.

REMOVAL OF NATIONAL COMMITTEEMAN

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): I move to amend that section as follows: "Any national committeeman found guilty by the National Committee of violating the principles or constitution of the party shall have his seat declared vacant by the National Committee and the election of his successor referred to the state or territorial organization."

Motion seconded.

DEL. GOSS (O.): I do not wish to understand the sense of that motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will kindly read the amendment of Comrade Stedman.

The Secretary then read the amendment as requested by the Chairman.

DEL. GOSS: I would be willing to vote for that if there was a provision added to it. I don't believe that any organization, and particularly the Socialist Party, should have the right to expel any representative that may be chosen by any of the states to represent them on the National Committee, unless the member of the National Committee is given a fair trial. It should be given a chance to defend himself.

THE CHAIRMAN: That follows as a matter of course. Delegate Stedman will kindly enlighten the comrades in that regard.

DEL. STEDMAN: If the National Committee at any time sends a man to a state and the state sends him back they will have to receive him.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): Then I move to add to Comrade Stedman's amendment the following: "Any member in whose case such action is to be submitted to the members of said state, where he is a committeeman."

DEL. STEDMAN: I will accept it.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I don't believe the Committee has the right to expel any member. I believe that right should be preserved to the state. I move this amendment be tabled.

The motion was seconded and carried and the amendment declared tabled.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee will proceed.

CHAIRMAN HILLQUIT: I am just informed by my colleagues on the Committee that a majority of the mem-

bers on the Committee recommends the last clause, which reads as follows:

"Section 6, Article IV. On the complaint of any national committeeman or of three locals in any state of any act on the part of such state or its jurisdiction, in violation of the platform or constitution of this organization, an investigation shall be undertaken acting under the rules of the National Committee, to the end that such organization shall be brought into conformity."

It was moved and seconded to adopt the article as read.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): It seems to me that the word "local," the third word in the third line, should be stricken out. It seems to me this has nothing to do with locals. The investigation of a state that has violated the principles or platform of the national organization would not be a matter for any local to take up.

DEL. HILLQUIT: The Committee informs me that it will accept the suggestion and strike out the word "local."

DEL. GAYLORD: Then it will read, "On the complaint of any national committeeman or of three locals in any state of any act on the part of such state or its jurisdiction."

DEL. HILLQUIT: Yes.

DEL. GAYLORD: "Subject to the national jurisdiction?"

DEL. HILLQUIT: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will now read the section as it has been amended:

The Secretary then read the section as amended and upon motion duly seconded and carried the section was declared adopted as amended.

PROTECTION OF STATE ORGANIZATIONS.

A delegate then moved to adjourn.

DEL. STEDMAN: I move you that section 2 of Article II, which reads as follows, be called upon: "No member of the party in one state or territory shall, under any pretext, interfere with the regular organized movement in any other state." I move the adoption of that section as read.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been regularly moved and seconded by Delegate Stedman that the first paragraph under the caption, "Not considered by

all of the Committee," be adopted as it appears in the printed slip.

DEL. STEDMAN: Some three years ago you will remember we had a contest over the question of state autonomy. It was hoped at that time that it was settled for once and for all. The constitution that we have adopted here this afternoon gives the national organization the right to send lecturers into any state it may choose, and it gives the National Committee the right to go into the state and decide controversies, and I think we should have something in the constitution so that the state may tell the nation to keep its hands off and may tell the other states to keep their hands off. It has been a Godsend to the states outside that you have not been called upon to judge the differences that have occurred in the State of Illinois, and there is no reason under heaven why any single man who is a representative of the state should ask the National Committee to come and sit in judgment upon purely a local squabble. I think that amendment should be carried for this reason: The growth of the parties within the states gives them a local standing which our national organization should not take away from them. I believe that should be placed in the constitution, so that every single state can keep meddlers out of the state when it desires and keep persons away from it who are coming in to settle grievances and who always end up by creating a disturbance.

Motion was made and seconded to table the motion of Delegate Stedman, but it was defeated on being put to a viva voce vote.

The question was then put on the adoption of the section as read and it was carried and declared adopted amidst enthusiastic applause.

THE CHAIRMAN: This completes the work of the Committee, as I understand it.

DEL. HILLQUIT: There is one more provision:

"This constitution shall take effect and be in force from and after the time of its approval by national referendum of the party membership. In voting upon this constitution members must vote it as a whole."

It was moved and seconded to adopt the recommendation of the Committee as read.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I desire to make a motion to take from the table the amendment to section 2 of Article IX, offered by myself and seconded by Delegate Spears, of Illinois, and that it be sent back to the Committee on Constitution in order that it may receive the consideration which it deserves.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is another matter before the house, and, therefore, your motion cannot be entertained. In its proper order, when there is nothing else before the house, we will entertain a motion such as you make, but we cannot entertain such a motion at this time, because if the motion is carried there will be two separate and distinct matters before the house. This matter that is reported by the Committee is the only legitimate matter before us. We will discuss that and nothing else at this time.

DEL. WEBSTER (O.): Are we now ready to adopt the entire report of the Committee on Constitution?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not quite. We will first pass upon this section that is now before us, and then, if necessary, we will pass a motion to adopt the constitution as a whole.

DEL. SAUNDERS: I move as an amendment that we accept the report with the exception of the part of it that states that the membership shall be compelled to vote upon it as a whole, and I wish to substitute for that that they may have an opportunity of voting on it serially.

The motion was seconded. The question was put on the motion and it was defeated.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now comes upon the original recommendation of the Committee.

A viva voce vote was then taken upon the adoption of the recommendation as returned by the Committee and the result being doubtful, a division was called for.

A rising vote was then taken and the section declared adopted, the vote standing as follows: 59 in favor, 30 opposed.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now does the delegate from Illinois wish to renew his motion to take from the table?

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I do.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is that we take from the table the amend-

ment to section 2 of Article IX, offered by Comrade Meyer, the section being the one providing for the printing of pamphlets in different languages. The question was then put and the motion lost.

DEL. BUTSCHER (N. Y.): I move that we now adopt the constitution as a whole.

The motion was seconded. DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): The Committee on Municipal Program decides to be heard upon the question of adopting the constitution as a whole. The Committee at their meeting yesterday had a typewritten resolution recommending an amendment to the constitution of sections which I shall not take the time to discuss here. By some accident this did not reach the Committee in time, and only reached them this afternoon; I do not know the reason why. I, therefore, desire to ask that you will defer final action on the constitution as a whole until that Committee has given proper consideration to the recommendation of the Municipal Program Committee.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I move we adjourn.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have adopted a motion that we shall not adjourn until the Committee has completed its report.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): I move that we delay the vote on the constitution as a whole until we receive further information from the Committee on Municipal Program.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the motion to adopt the constitution as a whole be on the table until we hear from the Committee on Platform and Municipal Program. It is only amendable as to time.

DEL. HILLQUIT: As to that, I move, Mr. Chairman, that we now proceed to the adoption of the constitution as a whole, except that we may reopen it for the purpose of hearing the report of the Committee on Municipal Program.

DEL. MORGAN: I accept the amendment.

DEL. STEEDMAN: Suppose the Committee on Resolutions should bring in something.

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, and because that, the motion is out of order. The motion before us is that the motion to approve the constitution as a whole be on the table subject to some recommendation or report from the Committee on Municipal Program.

The motion was carried and it was ordered.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next thing in order is to fix the time for adjournment, and I want to say before you fix this time for adjournment, that when this time is fixed it does not mean that

The convention came to order promptly at eight o'clock.

THE CHAIRMAN: In the language of the celebrated southern statesman we had better learn at this point just about where we are at before we proceed any further. In accordance with the Chair's understanding of the situation, the report of the Committee on Constitution being the last order of business under the rules of order, and that report being disposed of, it would appear that we are face to face now with unfinished business. That unfinished business, in accordance with the understanding of the Chair, being the report of the Press Committee, which was under discussion at the last previous session of this convention. If the delegates or the Chairman of the Press Committee are in the hall, and the Chairman is prepared to hear him, his report, we will hear from him. Is Delegate Simmons here? Is any one else on the Press Committee prepared to make up his report where he left off? Is it in the hands of the Secretary?

ASSIST. SECY CROSS: The Secretary might say that the report is in the hands of the Secretary, or rather in the hands of the Assistant Secretary. But the Assistant Secretary does not feel himself capable of the task of presenting the report of this Committee to this convention because he knows not what they recommended, he knows not how to explain the resolutions to the convention, and, consequently, it appears to him that it might be the best

we will then adjourn. You will decide by vote whether you will meet to-night or not and when you have fixed that time, I have some announcements that I will make.

It was moved and seconded that the convention adjourn to meet again at eight o'clock in the evening of the same day.

The Chairman then announced the meeting places of the various committees and the question was then put upon the motion to adjourn, which was carried.

EVENING SESSION

thing for us to do to lay this report over until some member of this Press Committee appears before the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: It may be a very good suggestion for the convenience of the Secretary and also to overcome the neglect on the part of the Press Committee to be here and at the disposal of the convention when they are called, but it seems to me if we are going to take up business in regular order it ought to be taken up in that way. Here is Delegate Simmons now. Delegate Simmons will please take the platform and report for the Committee on Press, where he left off at the last previous session of this convention.

DEL. SIMONS: The next recommendation of the Press Committee has already been covered by the Committee on Constitution and was to the effect that the National Secretary be empowered to issue a printed monthly report of official affairs. The matter being disposed of, no motion is necessary.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, that matter having been covered in the constitution, it will be passed. There is no objection and it is so ordered.

SOCIALIST PLATE MATTER.

DEL. SIMONS: The next recommendation of the Committee reads as follows:

"We would recommend for the consideration of the convention the proposition of establishing a bureau under the control of the national office of the Socialist Party for the pur-

pose of furnishing plate matter on Socialism, such matter to be of an educational character, treating Socialism from a scientific and propaganda point of view, and not entering into questions of party tactics.

There are, at the present time, a large number of papers that are willing to publish Socialist matter, but either because of lack of editorial or financial ability, are not able to secure the same. In many places, also, Socialists are already maintaining the desirability of establishing weekly papers, but are handicapped by the same difficulties. This plan will assist in solving this problem in two ways: either the matter can be purchased for an existing paper, or if it is decided to establish a paper directly under Socialist control, it will reduce the expense of publication."

DEL. SIMONS: Comrade Chairman, I want to move you in accordance with this recommendation, that the convention recommends to the National Committee the organization of such a bureau.

The motion of Delegate Simons received several seconds.

DEL. KERRIGAN: What would be the cost of such an undertaking?

DEL. SIMONS: We have investigated the matter, and believe that the expense will be very small and that in a short time the undertaking will be self-supporting.

DEL. KERRIGAN: It would be some little work to carry this thing through, would it not?

DEL. SIMONS: I do not think it would. I think it could be made to more than pay its own way at the start. One hundred papers would more than do that, and we have promises of practically that many papers, and then there are a good many other papers which once we get started would be willing to take our matter, so that in my opinion there will be only a short time indeed before the undertaking would be on a paying basis.

DEL. JOHNSON (La.): I would like to state for the benefit of those comrades who are not interested especially in the publication of Socialist papers, that this suggestion of the chairman of the Press Committee would be a very good thing from the stand-

point of the patrons and the papers constituting the present Socialist press. It would help out in a great many ways in their work, and I believe that there would be a sufficient demand in a very short time for a sufficient number of those plates to make it a source of at least a small income to the national organization, and for one I am heartily desirous that that work shall be taken up by the organization according to the suggestion of the chairman of the Press Committee.

The question was then put and the motion carried unanimously.

DEL. SIMONS: That is practiced by all of our report. It is the only thing that we wished to accomplish. I do not think of anything more. (Low applause.) There is just one word want to say for the information of those here. The charge which the Press Association makes to us, and probably the same thing will be made to the party, is one dollar per page, which is six columns every three weeks. It can be spread out over three weeks. At the present time with one hundred papers it would only be furnished every three weeks, and that would give two columns a week for three weeks.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would like to ask Comrade Simons before retiring if he can give us the name of the delegate who can inform the delegates here, who are anxious for information in regard to this matter, and particularly in regard to this plate bureau.

DEL. SIMONS: On the technical side of it, Comrade Strobel has gathered more material than anybody else. On some sides of it I have gathered all the material I could get hold of, and I would be glad to answer any questions that you may put to me.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegates will please notice, those that are interested in this matter, that they can consult with Comrade Strobel, of New Jersey, and Comrade Simons, of Illinois, in regard to such information as they desire.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I shall be more than pleased to give all the information in my power as also will Comrade Strobel.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any other unfinished business that the Secretary knows of?

A DELEGATE: The Resolutions Committee has not reported.

THE CHAIRMAN: What disposition was made of the Trades Union Committee?

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): It has not been acted upon yet.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there are no objections, we will start to call the committees in their regular order and hear from them as they are read, if they are ready. The first is the Committee on Platform, are they ready?

The Committee on Platform not being ready to report, it was passed.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is the Committee on Municipal Program ready?

DEL. UNTERMAN (Ill.): The Committee on Municipal Program will be ready to report to-morrow morning; it prefers to wait until to-morrow morning.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Municipal Program reports progress and promises to have its matter in such shape as to intelligently act upon it to-morrow. Is the Committee on Resolutions ready to report?

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): We are ready.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Spargo, the Chairman of that Committee, will please take the platform.

Resolution on Colorado Outrages

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: Your Committee in completing its report desires to move the following resolution upon the outrages in Colorado and other phases of the class struggle:

"Whereas, The Socialist Party is the political organization of the working class, pledged to all its struggles and working ceaselessly for its emancipation, it declares this convention against the brutality of capitalist rule and the suppression of popular rights and liberties which attends it; and calls upon all the workers of the country to unite with it in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalist domination and the establishment of economic equality and freedom.

"Time after time workers have been imprisoned, beaten and murdered for no other reason than that they were struggling for some measure of that

comfort and decency of existence to which as the producers of wealth they are entitled. The master class has, in various states and cities, organized citizens' alliances, manufacturers' associations, anti-boycott associations and the like, which, in order to disrupt and crush out the economic organization of the workers, have instituted a reign of lawlessness and tyranny, and assailed all the fundamental principles and most cherished institutions of personal and collective freedom. By suborning the executive and judicial powers in various states they have infringed upon the liberties of the American people.

"Under their hateful influences, in direct contravention of the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, civil authority has been made subordinate to the military in Pennsylvania, Colorado and elsewhere. Freedom of the press and the right of public assembly have been denied in many states; and by the Dick militia bill liability to compulsory military service has been imposed upon every male citizen, and that merely at the caprice of the President.

"At the present time there exists in Colorado a state of violent capitalist anarchy and lawlessness with the consent and under the armed protection of the state government. Peaceable citizens have been forcibly deported by armed bodies of lawbreakers, aided and abetted by military usurpers of the civil powers; involuntary servitude has been imposed by injunctions compelling citizens to work under conditions distasteful to them. Innocent and law-abiding citizens have been arrested without warrant, imprisoned without trial, and when acquitted by decision of the civil courts, held by the military in defiance of every principle of civil authority and government; and the right of habeas corpus, for centuries cherished as a safeguard for personal liberty, has been unlawfully suspended with the result that in a so-called 'free state' of our so-called 'free republic' there exists a despotism greater and more infamous than that which has ever characterized Russian autocracy.

"Now we declare these conditions in Colorado are the natural and logical results of the prevailing economic system which permits the private

ownership of the means of the common life and renders the wage-working class dependent for life itself upon the owners of the means of production and distribution. Between these two classes, the workers and the masters of their breed, there exists a state of constant warfare, a bitter and irrepressible class conflict. Labor, organized for self-protection and to secure better conditions of life, is met by powerful organizations of the master class, whose supreme power lies in the fact that all the functions of government, legislative, judicial and executive, have been unwittingly placed in their hands by their victims. Controlling all the forces of government, they are entrenched in a position from which they can only be dislodged by political methods.

"Therefore, this convention of the Socialist Party reaffirms this principle of the International Socialist Movement, that the supreme issue is the conquest by the working class of all the powers of government and the use of those powers for the overthrow of class rule, and the establishment of that common ownership of the means of the common life, which alone can free individual and collective man."

DEL. SPARGO: Your Committee desires to explain, if explanation be necessary, why such a lengthy resolution has been drafted. We understand perfectly well that for the purposes of this convention it might not be necessary to have any such resolution, but in the present condition of affairs there is one thing quite certain, that the great bulk of the people and the workers of this country know little, if anything at all, of the condition of affairs in Colorado and other parts of the country to which we refer. (Loud applause.) Now it seemed to your committee that this resolution, if adopted, might find its way even into the capitalist press. That if it did it ought to be published in the Socialist press, so that we, at least, could say: "Here the Socialist Party has declared and shown the real meaning of these outrages against which you are complaining."

Now, then, there were several resolutions which came before your committee which were referred to other com-

mittees in whose province they came. A resolution also came before the committee which in its way established something of a precedent. Delegate Littlefield handed it in on behalf of some one who is understood not to be a member of the Socialist Party. It was a resolution for our consideration advocating co-operative exchange. It is only fair to Delegate Littlefield to say also that he declined responsibility for the resolution. Your committee decided that we take action on these resolutions as they are presented, instead of reading them over here.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair is of the opinion that at some previous meeting it was decided to print the reports of the committees. If that has no particular bearing on the matter before us we may, of course, act on the matter as it comes before us. I should say that in accordance with formal methods of procedure, we had better listen to the report of the Committee on Resolutions and then take them up in their turn, perhaps.

DEL. KEOWN (Mass.): These resolutions are not to be printed. Therefore I make a motion that we consider these seriatim as they are read.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): I don't think there is going to be so much before this session to-night but what we can let the committee read the resolutions over and then take them up. The question was then put on Delegate Keown's motion, and it was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first action then before the convention is on the resolution just read by the Committee on Resolutions.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I move the adoption of the Colorado resolution as read.

The motion was seconded and the question called for.

DEL. UNTERMANN (Ill.): I wish to offer an amendment to this resolution that the passage which now reads "Liability to compulsory military service has been imposed upon every male citizen," be amended so as to read: "Liability to compulsory military service has been imposed upon all males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five."

DEL. SPARGO: Your committee

supports the amendment. Your committee had these things under advisement, but there were so many other things which might have been mentioned which could not be mentioned, that we decided for that reason that we could not take up matters any more in detail than they were brought to us. We could not have had the time to go into all these matters if we had tried to do so.

DEL. McEACHERN (Ill.): I would like to have that portion of the resolution which refers to the fact that the Dick military bill was instituted at the caprice of the President, if that is the case of the resolution, I would wish to have that stricken out.

DEL. SPARGO: That is not in any way the sense of the resolution. I will read the text and then I think you will get the sense: "And by the Dick military bill liability to compulsory military service has been imposed upon every male citizen between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, and that merely at the caprices of the President." Not that the bill was instituted at the caprice of the President, but that, as a matter of fact, the enforcement of the provisions of that statute are entirely dependent upon the caprice of the President.

The question was called for.

DEL. GARVER (Mo.): I wish to offer the following amendment, to insert the word "only" in the clause, "the Socialist Party is the party of the working class." The reason why I desire to insert this word is because it has been attributed to me on the floor of this house to-day that the trades union party is a capitalist party. I wish to emphasize the fact that the Socialist Party is the only party of the working class. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman of the Committee will please read it.

DEL. SPARGO: The Committee will accept the amendment if the convention will accept the responsibility for the tautological expression of the resolution in that form. When you say, "It is the party of the working class," it is entirely superfluous to say "the only party." That is singular and not plural, and it is as specific as it can possibly be. If, however, the convention insists upon having "only," super-

fluous as it is, added to the resolution, we have no objection. (Loud applause.)

DEL. GARVER: I am satisfied with the explanation. The only object of the amendment was to draw the attention of the convention to that very point and make clear our contention in that matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention is hardly in need of any such explanation. The motion upon the adoption of the resolution as amended is now in order.

The question was then put and the resolution adopted by a unanimous vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee will proceed.

DEL. WESSLING (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman—

THE CHAIRMAN: For what purpose do you rise?

DEL. WESSLING: Couldn't it be made unanimous?

THE CHAIRMAN: It is unanimous.

DEL. WESSLING: Well, have it so stated.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, the Secretary can so state if he thinks it necessary. The Committee will proceed.

DEL. SPARGO: Among the resolutions submitted to the Committee was a statement of resolution by Comrade Holman of Minnesota, on behalf of the State of Minnesota. I only mention it here because in printed form it has been handed around the convention. Now the comrades of Minnesota have come to the committee and said that upon reconsideration they are in favor of withdrawing it and letting the matter take its usual course in their own state committee. Therefore, your committee desires to withdraw that resolution which has been before the convention in printed form.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are there any objections to the withdrawal of the resolution that has been printed and handed around to the delegates under the caption "The Minnesota Case?" There is no objection, and the position of the committee will stand as the position of the convention. It will be so ordered. The Committee will proceed.

AS TO SECRET CAUCUSES.

DEL. SPARGO: A resolution from a delegate from Connecticut was presented to the committee, as follows:

"Resolved that it is the sense of this convention that we should at this period of our development as a class conscious party, cut loose from every capitalist device and method, and that we hereby condemn the holding of secret caucuses by the members of this convention, and if any such there be who have been guilty of such action, they are hereby condemned. That we do not believe in and will not hereafter uphold any capitalist cut and dried methods of selecting committees or candidates." (Applause.)

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): I move its adoption.

DEL. SPARGO: Your committee reports unfavorably upon the motion. It reports unfavorably because of the impossibility of ever enforcing such a motion. (Applause.) There is no method known to your committee whereby any two or more delegates can be prevented from agreeing upon a certain course of action in the convention. (Applause.)

DEL. LUCAS (Minn.): I think we might give our expression of condemnation of such proceedings. The Socialists don't need to go into any of these side shows, and yet these things do creep into our convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: The report is before you, Gentlemen, what is your pleasure?

DEL. TOOMEY (Conn.): I move that the report of the committee be laid on the table.

Seconded. The question was put on the motion and it was lost.

SECRETARY DOBBS: I move that the report of the committee be concurred in.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): I move that the delegate presenting the resolution be given leave to withdraw.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate has had ample opportunity to do so if he desires it.

The question was then put to concur in the recommendation of the committee and the motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee will proceed.

THE NEW YORK DAILY CALL.

DEL. SPARGO: Next is a resolution by Delegate Dobbs of New York, as follows:

"Whereas, daily newspapers which shall stand as the uncompromising champions of the working class and the exponents of the principles of the Socialist Party constitute one of the most urgent needs of the Socialist movement of the United States, and

Whereas, the Socialists of New York announce that they will have the publication September 1st of the New York Daily Call, a newspaper devoted to the interests of the Socialist Party and the working class;

Resolved that we, the delegates of the National Socialist Convention assembled at Chicago, May 1st, 1904, do hereby cordially endorse the project to establish the New York Daily Call, and we call upon the Socialists of the United States to render every assistance in their power to the New York Comrades having the enterprise in charge."

Your committee reports favorably upon the motion.

The adoption of the resolution was moved and seconded.

DEL. WILKINS (Cal.): I should like to know if this private enterprise is to be the property of the local.

DEL. SPARGO: No. Unfortunately there can be no such thing as property of the local, because the local is not a body recognized by law; therefore, the corporation has been formed of all of the members of the Social Democratic Party in the city who care to avail themselves of it, and none can ever belong to it but members of the Socialist party, and then it is provided that no interest shall ever at any time be put upon the profits accruing from the enterprise.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): The acceptance of that resolution, isn't that almost the same as the official endorsement of a partisan press? Isn't that resolution one of order?

THE CHAIRMAN: It is not out of order. As to whether this convention is overstepping its authority when it commends the establishment of such a paper, is a question of which the convention itself is the best judge.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): Comrade Spargo, in this corporation when still is held by members of the Socialist party, will one man have more influence and more votes than another?

DEL. SPARGO: No, sir.

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): I would consider that that is perfectly in order, but nevertheless I would like to call your attention to one point, the growing need of a national organ, and we find it expressed right here, and sooner or later it will have to come. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Any further remarks upon the motion before us? The motion is that the report of the committee be concurred in.

DEL. BROWER (Ill.): I am heartily in favor of the motion, but I would suggest to the convention that we give like encouragement to any city in the country that can afford a daily along with this recommendation to help the comrades in New York. There are other cities in this Union to-day that need a daily paper for the propagation of the principles of Socialism, such as the city of Chicago and others. (Applause.)

DEL. SPARGO: I desire to say, Comrades, first that the committee will accept the suggestion that we do give encouragement to any such effort in any part of the country, no matter where it may be; and in the second place your committee does not consider such a motion as an endorsement of a paper, but as an encouragement of an effort to establish a Socialist paper. There can be no such thing as the endorsement of a paper which does not exist. (Applause.)

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): If the convention wanted to control the paper, why New York would be the first to vote against it; it would refuse to surrender the control of that paper because we want the control of it. But, in order to encourage the comrades, we ought to pass this resolution, and we certainly ought not to hesitate to give them this encouragement. (Applause.)

DEL. WOODBEE (Cal.): I simply want to say that there seems to be a disposition on the part of the comrades to think that our endorsement of this enterprise in New York is the same proposition we had last night of owning and operating a paper. I would be willing to give endorsement to any reliable Socialist paper, it does not make any difference what paper it is, and I hope the resolution will pass for that reason. It is an altogether different proposition from that of owning and

operating a paper by the National Committee.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I move the previous question.

Motion seconded and carried. The question was then put on the adoption of the resolution as read, and the motion carried with only one dissenting vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee has the floor.

DEL. SPARGO: In reporting yesterday, I said that the committee would publish a statement sent by Local San Francisco. Unfortunately I have left it at the hotel and haven't it here at the convention in time to be printed. I have the statement here and will read it if desired, but your committee considers that since it has gone the rounds of the Socialist Papers and is not a matter which this convention can act upon in any manner, shape or form, that that particular statement with regard to Mayor Schmitz refusing to appoint a member of the Socialist Party on the Board of Election Commissioners had best be laid on the table unless the convention desires it read, which is all that Local San Francisco asks.

DEL. COLLINS (Ill.): I move that it be laid on the table.

Motion seconded. A vive voce vote was then taken and the result leaving the chair in doubt the motion was put to a rising vote and carried.

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

DEL. SPARGO: Your committee asks for final action upon the resolutions presented yesterday which are before you in print. I presume I need not trouble to read the resolutions because you have them, but I desire on behalf of the committee to move the adoption of the resolution on the Russo-Japanese War.

The motion was seconded. THE CHAIRMAN: Perhaps you had better read it.

DEL. SPARGO: All right. The Chairman says on account of the audience and visitors that I had better read them. The resolution on the Russo-Japanese War is as follows:

"Whereas, The conflicting commercial interests of the ruling classes in Russia and Japan have induced the governments of those countries to bring about war between the Russian and Japanese nations; and

Whereas, the working people of Russia and Japan have no interest in waging this campaign of bloody warfare, be it

Resolved, That this convention of the Socialist Party of America sends greetings of Fraternity and Solidarity to the working people of Russia and Japan, and condemns the Russo-Japanese War as a crime against progress and civilization. And be it further,

Resolved, That we appeal to the wage workers of Russia and Japan to join hands with the International Socialist movement in its struggle for world peace."

DEL. DEUTZMAN (Cal.): I move you, Comrade Chairman, that the resolution be adopted and that we send copies to the Socialist press of Japan and Russia.

The motion was seconded, and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee will proceed.

COMPENSATION OF SPEAKERS.

DEL. SPARGO: We have a resolution from the New Jersey delegation regarding the compensation of speakers and the engagement of speakers. It is as follows:

"Whereas, It is the practice of some lecturers and organizers to engage with organizations of the Socialist Party, at an indefinite compensation, dependent upon their success in collecting funds or selling literature, or else engaging without understanding as to compensation; and

Whereas, Under such conditions the ability of a comrade to remain in the field depends upon circumstances other than usefulness in the propagation of clean-cut Socialism; therefore be it

Resolved, That this convention declares itself opposed to speculative methods of compensating lecturers and organizers, and in favor of the payment of a definite pre-determined salary or fee."

DEL. SPARGO: Your committee moves the adoption of that resolution as the expression of the opinion of this body.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is regularly moved and seconded that the report just read be the expression of the opinion of this body. Are you ready for the question?

DEL. WEBSTER (O.): I move you that it be laid on the table.

The motion was seconded, but on being put to a viva voce vote was lost.

A division was called for and a rising vote was taken, resulting in the motion being declared lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion before us now is upon the adoption of the committee's recommendation.

The question was then put on the adoption of the New Jersey resolution as read and the motion carrying, it was declared adopted.

The announcement of the adoption of the resolution met with hearty applause on the part of the convention.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee will proceed.

REGULATION OF SPEAKERS.

DEL. SPARGO: The next resolution is in regard to the following salaries and fees to be paid speakers. It is as follows:

"Whereas, exorbitant salaries or fees have sometimes been paid to speakers and organizers for their services; and,

Whereas, Such practices are altogether unwarranted and unjust in a proletarian movement; therefore, be it

Resolved that this body declares itself opposed to paying speakers or other workers employed by the party exorbitant fees or salaries, placing them above the standard of the working class the party represents; and we

Recommend: That, as far as possible locals of the Socialist Party should engage their speakers and organizers through the national or state organizations, thus discouraging the abuses arising from the unsatisfactory methods at present pursued."

DEL. SPARGO: Your committee reports favorably and moves the adoption of this resolution.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. FARRELL (O.): I want to say, Mr. Chairman and comrades, in reference to this resolution that there are some of our states in this country which are peculiarly situated with reference to carrying on propaganda meetings, and I want to say that in my own state, down there in Ohio, that we are one of those states. We have found out that the most successful meetings we can hold are on Sunday afternoon,

and it is a hard matter to get a suitable hall for Sunday afternoon in the smaller cities down there, as they are poorly supplied with suitable halls for propaganda meetings. It is not like the city of Chicago or some of the larger cities, and for that reason we are compelled to take what we can get for our meetings, and we cannot always get speakers when we want them, from the National Committee, and there may be times when in order to hold a good meeting we will have to pay what is termed here exorbitant prices, but if our local in that city sees fit to bear the expense of bringing the comrade there on the special occasion, I don't think they ought to be hampered with this resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman of the committee will kindly explain the effect of that resolution.

DEL. SPARGO: The resolution is not mandatory upon any local or state in the country. It is purely the expression of the opinion of this convention. It doesn't say that this must be done upon all occasions, but that as far as possible in order to discourage these methods, speakers should be engaged through the national or state organizations. To meet the case mentioned by the delegate from Ohio, suppose that the locals to which he referred find that they could not get a speaker through the national committee, there would be no insuperable obstacle in getting him through the state committee, and after all it is not mandatory upon them; it is simply an expression of the opinion of the convention.

DEL. KEOWN (Mass.): In the statement made by the chairman of that committee I desire to ask the meaning of "exorbitant." Suppose Karl Marx were to be brought back here again. Would you consider one hundred dollars for a lecture from him exorbitant?

DEL. SPARGO: Yes, sir.

DEL. KEOWN: Or would you consider two dollars altogether too small?

DEL. STEDMAN: That is too much.

DEL. KEOWN: Now I have seen some speakers to whom I would gladly have given two hundred dollars not to hear. The comrades must admit that some Socialist party speakers do the movement more harm than we can imagine. Another thing, I do not believe that we

can estimate the ability of a speaker either in a convention like this or in a local body. It is simply a matter which must be arranged between the local and the speaker. I am not in favor of putting any stipulation whatsoever on the amount that we are going to pay our speakers. Another thing, if we give our approval to any such thing as that, I claim it is just the same as a law. If you wish your servant to do something or your boss wishes his working-man to do anything, that is practically equivalent to a command to do it. If we write down our opposition to any such thing as that, I claim that is just the same as law. In using this word "opposed," I interpret it as a command from the convention. I am opposed absolutely to fixing the compensation of speakers. I believe that should be left to circumstances entirely, and to the local who calls for the speaker or to the state organization.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will ask for a further interpretation of this resolution by the chairman of the committee:

DEL. SPARGO: Your committee does not desire to argue the question raised by the last speaker except only to answer the question as to what we would consider an exorbitant salary or fee. It may be that in the case of some speakers it would be worth while to pay them two hundred dollars not to speak. (Laughter.) It may be quite true that five dollars would be exorbitant for some men. It is equally true that two hundred and fifty dollars a lecture is exorbitant for any man. (Applause.) It would be exorbitant even for Marx or for LaSalle if we could bring them back to talk to us. The delegate wishes to know what we would consider exorbitant for Comrade Marx. I tell the delegate that Karl Marx answered it himself when he said: "I will live and my family, upon the five dollars a week I can get while I am writing 'Capital' for the working class," (Loud applause.)

DEL. LUCAS (Minn.): I want to say just a word on this matter. My experience has been that where we have paid these exorbitant salaries it has exceeded the resources of the community. There are too many members who, when they try to get a speaker, select him not for the good he will do, but because they would like to see him and

get a chance to listen to his eloquent remarks, his flow of eloquence. When you have a man to come and make but one lecture, I care not how far his reputation may extend, he only for the moment makes a little excitement there and it becomes absolutely worthless unless it can be followed up, and many times when you have spent a hundred dollars or two hundred dollars for one of those speakers the whole of their lecture has had to be preserved by the common soap box orators that get nothing whatever for their labor." (Applause.) We have been told time and again that it is the constant dropping of water that wears away the stone, and so it is with any of these great movements. It is not the frequent flashes of lightning that affect the cause, but it is the persistent and constant effort of the whole party, and we have many of our strongest workers amongst us that are never recognized. (Applause.) I hope that this will be adopted, for I think that it is necessary that there shall be some rebuke come from this body against the lavish expenditure of money that is absolutely eating away the vitality of the movement.

DEL. JOHNSON (La.): That is another one of those questions that might lead us into an eternal discussion like the one pertaining to the salary of the secretary, and I move the previous question.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is it?

DEL. SLOBODIN: Is this matter not all stated in the constitution that we passed this afternoon?

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair does not so understand it.

DEL. SLOBODIN: Where we left this in the hands of the Executive Committee to give us a rate that shall govern the price of speakers.

THE CHAIRMAN: This has to do with employing the speakers and recommends that the locals should engage their speakers and organizers as far as possible, through the state and national organizations.

DEL. SLOBODIN: From the nature of this question we are not going to hear from speakers who have no prospect of receiving pay from our constituency. You won't hear from Comrade Carey or from Comrade Hayes,

you won't hear from any of the powerful orators of the convention. Now I am in that position, but I do most positively object to this resolution which means nothing more nor less than a resolution of condemnation upon our speakers. There may be an exceptional case to which it does not apply, but a matter of fact generally the speakers are a much abused lot.

The previous question was moved, and the motion being seconded, it carried.

The adoption of the resolution as read was then put to a viva voce vote and the result being doubtful, a division was called for. A rising vote was then taken with the result that the resolution was declared adopted, the vote being as follows: Ayes, 65; Nays, 51.

REPORT UPON TRADE UNION RESOLUTIONS.

DEL. SPARGO: As the final part of our report, I have to report upon the four trade union resolutions which were referred back to our committee from the Trades Union Committee, through the convention yesterday. The committee debated at great length upon each of the four resolutions. We finally decided to report back to this convention as follows:

That in view of the fact that no matter how improperly the resolutions had been through the hands of another committee, had been reported favorably to this committee by that committee, as a committee we declined to make any counter or other recommendation after recommendations had been made by our committee by whom they were referred. That leaves the committee in this position: We did not desire to shrink from any responsibility that was properly ours, but we do say that in view of the circumstances under which the resolutions came to us, that as a committee we will make no recommendation whatsoever, and as individual members of the convention, that will leave us free to take whatever action we may see fit. That leaves the matter now in the hands of the convention. They can either take the resolutions under consideration or they can lay them upon the table as they may see fit. Your committee has nothing else to report.

THE CHAIRMAN: That completes the report of the Committee on Resolutions. It is now in order for this convention to act upon the report of the

Committee on Resolutions as a whole, and to take such other action as you see fit with regard to this resolution. Delegate Carey has the floor.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Mr. Chairman, I desire to have the Chairman make clear the exact status of the matters reported by the Committee on Resolutions, including its final statement through its chairman on the Trades Union proposition. I desire to know the exact status of the matters that he had said they declined to act upon; the exact status that they occupy in this convention if the report of the Committee on Resolutions is accepted and adopted as a whole. Not particularly on much because the Committee on Trades Unions needs the instruction, but because I wish to avoid unnecessary conflict.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair would say that the status of those resolutions is that they are precisely where they were before they went to the Committee on Resolutions. The Trades Union resolution is what you are asking about, isn't it? And the Chair would rule that the resolutions are precisely in the same position where they were before they were sent to the Committee on Resolutions, and all other matters upon which the Committee on Resolutions has acted are before this convention to act upon as a whole.

DEL. HAYES (O.): As I understand it, Mr. Chairman and fellow delegates, the supplementary resolutions reported by the Trades Union Committee were, by a vote of this convention, referred to the Committee on Resolutions. Now this committee comes in here this evening and makes a report that is no report, and if I understand the Chair aright, the rules of the convention are then still in the hands of the Trades Union committee. Am I correct?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, where they were before they were sent to the Committee on Resolutions.

DEL. HAYES: That the supplementary resolutions are now in our hands. I can take my oath that we haven't got them. (Laughter.) The resolutions, with all due respect to the Chair and the Committee of Resolutions, are in the hands of the Resolutions Committee, and if the Resolutions Committee desires to make its report it should do so without attempting to beat the devil

around the stump, and if it is unable to handle the resolutions it should state so plainly and above board to this convention in order that this body may take the proper action to refer them back to the Trades Union Committee where they belong. (Loud applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I would say for the information of Delegate Hayes that the Chair was asked the question as to the status of this resolution, and the Chair would again reiterate that the resolutions are precisely in the position they were before they were referred to the Committee on Resolutions. The Committee on Resolutions asks to be absolved from responsibility in the matter, owing to the peculiar circumstances under which they received them, and that is the status of these resolutions at this time under the Chair's ruling. The Chairman of Resolutions Committee asks to be heard and he has the floor.

DEL. SPARGO: Comrades, your committee did not in the first place accept the resolutions. The resolutions came to us and we did discuss them. We discussed them at great length and we did find things that we could do. We found that at least we could write them in the English language, which they were not written in. (Laughter and applause.)

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is the point of order?

DEL. SLOBODIN: That we have a resolution that is now before us.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will rule that the point of order is well taken. The Chairman of the committee is at liberty to make such remarks and cast such reflections upon this committee as the convention is willing to listen to.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I ask for information.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Kerrigan will take his seat. The chairman of the committee has the floor.

DEL. KERRIGAN: I ask for information.

THE CHAIRMAN: You will get your information by the proceedings of this convention. Do you raise a point of order?

DEL. KERRIGAN: No, sir.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then you have no reason to rise at all. The Committee on Resolutions will proceed.

DEL. SPARGO: The resolutions are now in the hands of the Secretary of the convention, and if we are to be taunted that we are unable to do anything or that we were afraid to do anything, it is only right and proper to say in reply to that taunt that there was at least one thing we might have done. We did not do it, out of consideration for the feelings of Delegate Hayes and his associates. (Laughter and applause.)

DEL. KEOWN (Mass.): Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: For what purpose do you rise?

DEL. KEOWN: I wish to make a motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no motion in order while the delegate has the floor.

DEL. SPARGO: Now then, Comrades, why did the committee decline to make any more specific report? I will tell you. Because the committee tried time and again, knowing well that a struggle lies before this convention, upon each of the four motions in that supplementary report, we tried time and again by conference with the members of the Trades Union Committee, to do something in the way of having prepared a decent substitute for the whole, and mark you well, the delegate taunts us with being unable or unwilling to do anything, was unwilling to extend to the members of your committee even the ordinary courtesy of one man to another. Now, Comrades, we decline to shoulder all the responsibility of throwing this convention into a fight upon these matters. We say that you have no right to place that responsibility upon any one or more men in this committee. You have drawn up resolutions which are bound to be the source and center of a fight that is going to shake this convention to its very basis. It has come to the knowledge of the members of the Resolution Committee—

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): Point of order; what is before the convention? Is there a motion before the convention?

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to say to Comrade Spargo that he will bring in a speedy close his report as Chairman of the Resolutions Committee, and leave out of consideration the methods or alleged methods of any members in any other committee.

DEL. SPARGO: I have finished. I simply say that when the committee was besieged from one side and from the other, and when they were brought face to face with all the prospective consequences of this matter, which ought to have come before us in the first place, but which went into the hands of another committee and which was then reported upon in a certain form by them and then referred to us and we are to be held responsible for the mistakes and the misdeeds of another committee, and we are not willing to accept that responsibility. (Applause.)

DEL. KEOWN: I move to submit now the resolution which I previously offered.

DEL. FARRELL (O.): I move you that the report of the Resolutions Committee be adopted as a whole, and that the Trades Union resolutions then come before the house.

The motion was seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will now please read the first trades union resolution.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): I desire to ask permission of this house to be allowed to save time, if they will grant me just two minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: For what purpose do you rise?

DEL. CAREY: For the purpose of proceeding in order on this Trades Union proposition. The Trades Union Committee has made its report and it is in print, the part that they referred to us. Now I would suggest that we act on the general proposition before we take up the specific resolutions.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Carey is entirely right. We have disposed of the Committee on Resolutions' work. The next unfinished business is the report of the Committee on Trades Unions, and if you desire now to take up the Committee on Trades Unions' report, if that is the next order of business, we will take it up from the beginning and the secretary will read first

of all the report made by the Committee on Resolutions.

DEL. BERTHA WILKINS (Cal.): I rise to a point of information. I should like to know as a matter of information whether this Committee on Resolutions has ceased to receive resolutions?

THE CHAIRMAN: No, and they will not until they have been discharged. They are still in existence, and if there is any resolution any delegate desires to introduce it will be referred to the Committee on Resolutions and they will report upon it in due course.

DEL. DEUTZMAN (Cal.): I want to make a protest.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your protest is not in order; there is nothing in order but the secretary's reading. Please be in order. Take your seat. The secretary will now proceed with the reading of the Trades Union Committee's report.

DEL. DEUTZMAN: I have a resolution that I want to offer.

THE CHAIRMAN: If you have an amendment to make upon the Trades Union resolutions it will not be in order until the original trades union resolutions are before this convention. Now please subside until we get the original resolutions before the convention. Then we will entertain your amendment.

DEL. DEUTZMAN: I have more than an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Have you an amendment that you want to make?

DEL. DEUTZMAN: I desire, Mr. Chairman, to explain this.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will please read. You will please keep your seat now unless you want to raise a point of order.

DEL. DEUTZMAN: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is it?

DEL. DEUTZMAN: The point of order is this, that the Committee on Resolutions has not done its work because they referred one resolution which is printed; they did not report on it. Therefore, before proceeding further that resolution is before us and not the trades union resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will say that the point of order is not well taken.

If at any future meeting of this convention when we reach the order of business of the Committee on Resolutions, if the Committee on Resolutions fails to report your resolution, you may call upon them to report your resolution or give reasons why they do not do so. For this evening's session we have passed the Committee on Resolutions by formal vote, and have decided to take up the Committee on Trades Union report, and that is the next thing in order.

DEL. SPARGO: I rise to a question of personal privilege.

THE CHAIRMAN: State it briefly. DEL. SPARGO: Briefly it is this: That in rendering the report of the committee, I overlooked that resolution, as I explained to the delegates, but I told them it would come before the convention in due course.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will read the report of the Trades Union Committee.

THE TRADES UNION RESOLUTIONS.

THE SECRETARY (Reading):

"The trades and labor union movement is a natural result of the capitalist system of production and necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is an effort to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalist system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, and does not abolish it. The exploitation of labor will only cease when the working class takes possession of the means of productions and distribution and establishes their right to the full product of their labor. To fully carry out these measures the working class must consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they unite on the political as well as the industrial field on the lines of the class struggle.

The trades union struggle requires the political activity of the working class. The workers must assist and permanently secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the economic struggle. In accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, this convention reaffirms the declarations that the trades and labor

unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to affiliate with this movement.

Political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialist principles."

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the report of the Committee on Trades Unions. What is your pleasure?

DEL CARR (Ill.): I rise to a point of order. The hour of adjournment has arrived, and a motion to adjourn is the next thing in order unless we suspend the rules and continue the meeting.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Carr makes the point of order that the hour of adjournment has arrived. The Chair rules that the point of order is well taken. The hour of adjournment is here. What is your pleasure, gentlemen?

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I move that we suspend the rules and that the convention continue in session for one hour longer.

The motion was seconded and carried.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I rise to move the striking out from this Trades Union resolution all of those words beginning with "Political differences of opinion," and ending with "industrial movement." "Political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement." I move that that be stricken out.

Motion seconded.

DEL. GOAZIOU (Pa.): I wish to offer another amendment: instead of striking out that part, I wish to add to it, after the word "movement," the following: "any more than differences of opinion as to the best form of industrial organization should divide the working class in the political movement."

The motion was seconded.

At the request of a delegate, the secre-

tary then read the clause as it would stand as last amended, as follows:

"Political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement, any more than differences of opinion as to the best form of industrial organization should divide the working class in the political movement."

DEL. SMITH (Ore.): I rise to make an amendment that we lay this report on the table, and I wish to speak in support of the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have to inform the delegate from Oregon that a motion to lay on the table is not debatable.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): Comrade Chairman and Delegates: The very fact that delegates on the floor of the Socialist convention can take the floor and move to lay such an important resolution on the table, shows the necessity of bringing this matter before the convention. It shows that it has become necessary for the trades unions to get into the Socialist Party and teach the Socialist party a little unionism. (Loud applause.) We have always claimed that we have a monopoly on the social science, on the wisdom in the labor movement. We have always looked down upon the poor trades unionist. We went to a Socialist meeting. We secured a five cent Socialist pamphlet. We read half of that pamphlet and we did not understand the half which we read, and then we went out and informed the rank and file of the trades unionists what they must do and what they must not do; we informed them how wise we were and how foolish they were. I believe the time has come when the Socialist Party can no longer hide itself behind empty phrases, when the Socialist Party must come out clearly and positively and state its position towards the trades union movement. I want to inform you that we cannot be a success without the labor movement. There cannot be a successful Socialist movement without a successful trades union movement. (Cries of "Hear, hear" and loud applause.) The trades union movement must be the back bone of the Socialist Party.

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Order please,

until we learn the delegate's point of order.

DEL. SPEARS: My point of order is that the comrade is not speaking to the motion to strike out, but upon the merits.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate is perfectly in order if he speaks upon the general merits of the question before the house.

DEL. HOEHN: I should like to inform our friends from Illinois and especially from Chicago, that this trades union question cannot be settled by points of order. (Loud cheering and applause.) This trades union question is up before the Socialist convention, and it must be settled and must be settled right. I have said that the trades union movement must be the backbone of the Socialist Party, and I may add that the Socialist Party must be the backbone of the trades union movement.

(Loud applause.) Herr Kautsky, one of the leading authorities on international Socialism, said in one of his books, "The labor movement is the foundation of Social Democracy," and if the Socialists do not realize this fact, if they fail to recognize and understand this fact, Socialist Democracy will go to pieces because it will not fulfil its mission. It is our duty as Socialists, as representatives of the Socialist Party, to organize the proletariat. It is our duty to organize the working class, not only politically but economically as well. (Cries of "Right," and loud applause.)

I wish now to ask you whether the new unionists of Colorado, the members of the Western Federation of Miners and the members of the United Mine Workers in Colorado, whether those brave boys are not fighting an heroic battle for the cause of liberty? They are fighting the greatest struggle the American proletariat today, and it will not do for us to stand here and tell those boys, "Stop your struggle; stop your fight; your trades unions won't help you any."

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I want to call the attention of the chairman to the fact that the comrade is overstepping his time.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are mistaken. The delegate has two minutes left. Do not cut up his time. Delegate Hoehn will proceed.

DEL. HOEHN: If I were to under-

take such a position as that, I would be ashamed of myself. I say no; as Socialists it is our duty to get right into this fight and help those boys in their economic struggle and do all we can to help win that battle for the eight hour law in Colorado, and the battle for free speech. (Applause.)

Several delegates endeavored to obtain the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Ott of Wyoming has the floor.

DEL. OTT (Wyo.): I ask to call up my resolution that has been submitted to the secretary.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is it an amendment to the proposition before the house?

DEL. OTT: Yes, sir, it is a substitute for the proposition before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will kindly read it.

SUBSTITUTE FOR TRADES UNION RESOLUTIONS.

The substitute offered by Delegate Ott was then read by the secretary as follows:

"In view of the fact that the Trades Union resolution as adopted by the Unity Convention of Indianapolis, Indiana, is wholly inadequate to meet the conditions representing themselves in results of recent occurrences in the trades union movement; and

Whereas, the Socialist Party as the party of the working class, recognizes the class struggle within society as the active force in lining up the workers of the world in the militant organizations for the struggle of emancipation from wage slavery, politically in the Socialist Party, and economically in such organizations as are used as instruments of the class struggle to the end of overthrowing the capitalistic system of society; and

Whereas, several economic organizations of labor have combined with capital in harmony of interest combinations, with the object of obscuring the issue and leading the working class astray to perform yeoman duties for capitalization and the prevailing order of things;

Therefore, be it Resolved by this Convention, that the Socialist Party, recognizing the necessity of organization in economic fields as a weapon for the defense of the workers against the capitalists' encroachments, it also

recognizes the fact that in line with the declarations of all Socialist parties throughout the world, the economic organizations of the workers must be a constructing force for the conduct of industries in a Socialist commonwealth;

The Socialist Party, therefore, urges and appeals to the members of the working class that they join such industrial unions on economic lines as will band together the workers in a common and tight bond of solidarity in which they will not be divided and split asunder by the conflicting interests of craft and guild divisions, and which also aim at the establishment of the co-operative commonwealth by combined political and economic action upon the lines of the class struggle, both the political and economic organizations to be used as instruments and means to that end.

The Socialist Party also wishes to denounce before the workers of this land the treacherous, deceitful work of the conglomeration between several labor leaders so-called, and the captains of industry and the National Civic Federation and other like institutions, and brand these federations as instruments of the capitalist class to perpetuate the system of to-day, and to use organized labor as tools for that purpose."

DEL. OTT: Mr. Chairman and Representatives and Brothers and Sisters: I would state that the pages read by the secretary are about in the same order as the German declaration in regard to trades unionism. The solidarity of trades unionism and Socialism must be defined; the co-operation of the two is essential. We must help to organize the economic field in order to become strong ourselves and so aid the workers of the country in their struggle for advancement. We must assist in every way possible to organize the laboring class of the country against the onslaught of capitalism, which is our aim, because if we accomplish that in a thorough manner, such as is indicated by this resolution, there is no doubt that Socialism will at once have attained the greatest step in the history of the Socialist Party. I will ask the opinion of this resolution because of its importance to any one. It covers the field thoroughly from our standpoint, it cannot be im-

peached, and we have the right, and claim that right, that each of us shall assist the laboring men of the country to organize themselves, to band themselves together for their own personal improvement and advancement; for the doing away of these chains bound about them by the capitalists; for breaking the fetters with which they hold in bondage these men and women, millions of workers in the country, and now for the purpose I offer this resolution, which is certainly excellent as to its point, and which I hope will be read again so everybody will understand it, and I hope it will pass in order that we may be able to be ready at any time to fight the battle.

DEL. SMITH (Ore.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: I would not consider myself a Socialist if I kept my seat to-night and did not at least protest against this body taking up this matter. I want it distinctly understood that I speak for my own self, that I personally consider it completely out of order to bring such a proposition before a Socialist convention. (Applause.) As class conscious revolutionary Socialists reformers and Socialists—yes, I use the combined term—we have no business with those temporary movements. (Applause.) If Socialism stands for anything it stands for what it professes to stand for, and that is the complete breaking down of the present system. (Loud applause and cheering.)

The trades unions of this country represent nothing more than a slight reform over present conditions (applause), and as a reform movement it has no place in the propaganda of Socialism. (Cries of "Good" and prolonged applause.) We have long enough dallied with these reform movements of different kinds and our constitution last year was the laughing stock of the intelligent Socialists of the country. We got that platform so mixed and tangled up that we hardly knew what we did stand for ourselves. (Laughter and applause.) The trades unionists have never helped the Socialist Party, and you know that that is true. (Loud cheering and applause.)

The Trades Unionist is leaning upon his little crutch and until that crutch is broken entirely under him, he will have to lean upon it, whether we preach Socialism or not. (Cries of "Good" and prolonged applause.) I saw this beautifully illustrated, Comrade Chairman, in British Columbia last fall.

went through as the speaker in the campaign—that five weeks' campaign last fall in British Columbia. The campaign followed on the heels of a strike that had been universal throughout British Columbia, the gold mines and everywhere else. They lost in all parts of the province until we as Socialists came into that campaign and we pointed out to them what we stood for, which was the annihilation of the wage system, and pointed the way clearly to the changing of the system as the only remedy for their suffering—they had already had the example of the inefficiency of the strike, it failing them, and the result was after the crutch of the strike had been broken under them, they rushed to our banner and gladly espoused the Socialist Cause. (Loud and long continued applause.) Now, Comrade Chairman, in conclusion let me say that the moment that the Socialist Party of the United States steps out upon a clear class-conscious platform of its own, and frees its skirts from all these petty movements (Cries of "Hear, hear!") then we will begin to move forward and to grow. (Tumultuous cheering and applause.)

Several delegates here endeavored to obtain the floor and the Chairman recognized Delegate Brandt of Missouri.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Brandt of St. Louis has the floor.

DEL. KEOWN (Mass.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. KEOWN: I object to this manner of conducting business here; there is so much noise in the hall that not one delegate in ten can hear.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegates will come to order.

DEL. KEOWN: I submit that this is a regularly elected convention, and I submit to these people in the gallery making noises and trying to sway the feelings of the delegates to this convention. (Loud hissing and cat calls.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate from Massachusetts is clearly within his rights when he makes the statement that he has made. It may not have been true, but he was certainly justified if he thought it was true. So long as a delegate thinks that the audience of men in the gallery are endeavoring to create a

demonstration here, he is clearly within his rights to make a protest. It comes with ill grace from the delegate to this convention to abuse the delegate from Massachusetts for making that perfectly legitimate protest. (Applause.) I shall insist that the most thorough principles of democracy be observed in this convention and that the doors of this convention be thrown wide open to any visitor that cares to come in, but we will not permit that privilege to be abused, and the audience will kindly take notice that they will be required to look at this particular circus and not to participate in it. (Laughter and applause.) Delegate Brandt has the floor.

DEL. BRANDT (Mo.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: I am not going to appeal to your prejudices nor to your party principles here to-night, but I am going to speak to you as one who has been a member of a trades union for nearly seventeen years, and one who has been a member of the Socialist Party movement ever since it was possible for a trades unionist to honestly come into a Socialist Party movement, in 1897. A speaker before has stated that the minute this Socialist Party breaks clear of its trades union nonsense and breaks clear of this immediate demand proposition we will amount to something. (Applause.) There was a Socialist Party prior to ours in this country, and the minute that they broke loose from the actual interests of the working man as he is on the street and in the mine and in the factory and in the mill to-day, the minute that party broke loose from those interests, that party sunk into oblivion. (Loud applause.) That party is dead, and I am no pessimist and I claim to be as good a Socialist as any man in this hall, but I say this without the thought of wanting to do an evil thing to a person, I follow that course and ignore the teachings of the Socialist movement internationally, and I say that you will fall into the same depths of degradation and to the same place which they sunk to. You don't want to take up this trades union movement, do you? (Cries of "No, no.") Then I will tell you something. You believe in International Socialism, do you? You are followers of it? Well, then, eat a little crutch; listen while I read. I have here an article that was written in the *International*

Socialist Review, published here in Chicago, that I want to read you.

DEL. HAWKINS (Neb.): A point of order, Mr. Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point of order?

DEL. HAWKINS: Are we here to discuss the merits of Trades Unionism or Socialism?

THE CHAIRMAN: Your point of order is entirely out of order. You are out of order. Take your seat.

DEL. DALTON: I rise to a point of order. I ask that the Chair prevent any delegate from speaking to a delegate who has the floor, without first having gained permission of the Chair.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate is wholly right and he in the first place can assist us by carrying out that rule. Comrade Brandt has the floor and he will proceed.

DEL. BRANDT: Comrade Chairman, I hope you will not take that interruption from my time. I want to read you an article from the April number of the *International Socialist Review*, a resolution that was adopted by the London Congress of Socialists. The resolution reads as follows: "The trade union struggle of the wage workers is indispensable, in order to resist the encroachments of Capitalism and to improve the conditions of Labor under the present system. Without trade unions no fair wages and no shorter hours of labor."

DEL. McEACHERN (Ill.): Comrade Chairman, I desire to ask the delegate a question.

THE CHAIRMAN: If the delegate agrees to yield you the floor you may do so.

DEL. BRANDT: I will stop at any time to answer any question if it is not taken off of my ten minutes' time.

DEL. McEACHERN: I would like to ask the delegate if that is from the Fabian Society or from the Socialist movement.

DEL. BRANDT: You will draw your own conclusions if you will allow me to read it, and I believe I can pronounce all the words in this resolution correctly. "However, this economic struggle only lessens the exploitation, but does not abolish it. The exploitation of labor will cease when society

takes possession of the means of production. This is conditioned on the creation of a system of legislative measures. To fully carry out these measures the working class must become the deciding political power. However, the working class will only become such a political power in the same ratio as its organization, the trade union, grows. By the very organization into trade unions the working class becomes a political factor.

"The organization of the working class is incomplete and insufficient as long as it is only political.

"But the economic (trade union) struggle also requires the political activity of the working class. Very often the working men have to assert and permanently secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the free economic struggle. In other cases the legislative gains make economic conflicts by trade union action superfluous. The international cooperation of the working class on the trade union lines, especially in regard to labor legislation, becomes more necessary in the same degree as the economic relations of the capitalistic world's market and the conflicts of the national industries develop.

"In accordance with the decision of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels and Zurich, this congress declares that the organization of trade unions is an absolute necessity in the struggle of emancipation of the working class, and we consider it as the duty of all wage workers who aim at the emancipation of labor from capitalist wage slavery to join the union of their respective trade.

"The trade unions, in order to do effective work, shall be nationally organized and the splitting up of the elements in separate organizations is to be condemned. Political differences of opinion shall not be a cause for dividing or splitting up the forces in the economic struggle, but the proletarian class struggle makes it the duty for the labor organizations to educate their members in Socialist principles." (Applause.)

Mr. Chairman and Comrades, I believe in Socialism; I believe in the International Socialist movement; I believe in the Socialist Party of America, but I will tell you one thing, that I do believe in, and that is I believe there is

a labor movement throughout the whole world, and when I say that I am speaking conservatively. I want to say to you delegates in this convention that you may laugh and you did laugh a while ago at some of the expressions that were made here, and I know the objections of some of you who have heard the arguments here upon this floor and the utterances upon this floor, but I want to bring one thing home to you. I want some of you people who take the opposite stand to this to contradict it on this floor to-night and I am going to tell you what that is, I am going to say this to you: You have got a Socialist Party movement in Milwaukee and it is a working class movement. You haven't any reform or union labor party movement there. (Applause.) You have a Socialist party movement in Massachusetts.

DEL. BICKETT (O.): The gentleman is exceeding his time.

THE CHAIRMAN: He has a half minute to close. Don't take a minute of his time.

DEL. BICKETT: Point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no point of order. Please be in order and allow the delegate to finish his half minute.

DEL. BRANDT: You have got a Socialist Party in Massachusetts that has accomplished results, and in this closing half minute which I have got I want to bring this home to you, that you cannot show me a single instance in the American Socialist movement where the Socialist Party has got right down to the field of action and defined the interests of the working man to-day as well as in the future, where any reform movement has sprung up, as there has been where you people have ignored this class struggle which is going on to-day in every vicinity, including the city we are in.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Morgan will please take the Chair.

Delegate Morgan here assumed the Chair.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Delegate Sieverman has the floor.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: This has been a most strenuous day, and now I am addressing you not as Chairman but as a delegate.

DEL. BICKETT: Point of order.

DEL. FARRELL (O.): Sit down.

DEL. BICKETT: I don't have to sit down.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: I have been approached by a number of delegates—

DEL. BICKETT: Comrade Chairman.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: Will the Delegate from Ohio please keep quiet?

DEL. BICKETT: Are you Chairman or Speaker?

DEL. SIEVERMAN: I say, I have been approached by a number of delegates to-day and I have been told that I have saved this convention quite a few hours, and while I am not so sure that I have done so, I am going to ask you to give me just a few minutes, that is, you decent delegates who are here. (Applause.) There are some delegates here that don't know and would not understand the laws of decency.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): Mr. Chairman, I protest against such language being used here.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: I would suggest that the delegate be in order and then I would suggest that the speaker restrain himself.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: The speaker stands corrected, but he would remind you, however, that he would not have used the language unless he had known of the truth of his statement. I rise to speak in defense of the committee's report. I think I will have to fight my way through. I want to say as a preliminary proposition that it is the easiest thing on earth for a member of a trades union who is a Socialist to attend his trades union meetings and find himself in conflict with the controlling elements on the floor of that trades union, and finding himself worsted by reason of the superior number of the enemy, he then becomes disgusted and quits activity in the trades union movement, dividing his future course with reference to the trades union movement upon a purely local incident; and being completely disgusted with his experience, he comes into a National Socialist convention to ask that convention to adopt or refuse to adopt resolutions that have to do with a great economic movement, without having any greater support behind him,

so far as he is concerned, than his individual experience in his own local movement, which is more often than not the result of a degree of lethargy and want of enterprise. (Loud applause.) There is no lack of material to prove that in the trades union movement there are corruptionists galore, nor is there any lack of material to prove that if the Socialist trades unionists were to take a keener, more active and a more thorough interest in their trades unions, that these corrupt elements would be sooner or later driven out of the trades union field. (Applause.) And, I want to remind you comrades, that coming into this convention thus prompted by local experience hardly does credit to us. We have asked ourselves the question, "What is the trades union movement?" How comfortable the reflection of the delegate from Oregon that it is a crutch; a crutch upon which labor leans, and the quicker that it breaks the better for the invalid, as illustrated in British Columbia. What a shallow and what a superficial knowledge of the trades union movement that statement betrays. (Applause.) And the charge fits every delegate here who so enthusiastically approved and gave demonstration of approval of that statement. What is the trades union movement? It is the concrete effort of the working class to wrest concessions, to wrest material advantages from the capitalist class that they do not now possess. How do they develop? Is that sign of the American flag still here? Is that flag here that has been desecrated by the enumeration of the ills and the tyrannies that have been practiced upon the organized working men? That tells the tale in the graphic language of the conflict between capital and labor. (Applause.) Here is labor leaning on a crutch in the east, in the west, in the north, everywhere; where they get the opportunity they contest the field with capital. They declare that insofar as by their numerical strength they may make it possible, they will wrest better conditions from the capitalist class. Not so in the south. The crutch is not in evidence south of Mason and Dixon's line. (Applause.) South of Mason and Dixon's line the modern wage slave, like the chattel slave before the war, has no protest to make. Like the chattel slave

before the war, willingly he bares his back to the lash of capitalist oppression. (Loud applause.) In the south this crutch is not in evidence, and what is the status of the labor question in the south as viewed through the eyes of the Socialist? Is there any where in this country a portion, is there anywhere in this country a spectacle that may so fill us with discouragement, that may so send the chills of pessimism up and down our back as the conditions that prevail in the labor field in the south? (Loud applause.) Oh, delegates, this trades union movement is the economic expression of the working class in the economic field. (Applause.) You cannot ignore this fact out of existence. This conflict is here, you, as the chosen, the self-appointed champions, if you please, of the interests of the working class, you cannot escape going on record for or against the working class in their struggle with capital. (Prolonged applause.) You may hide behind whatever subterfuge you elect, but the trades unionists upon this field will drag you forth and will make you take a stand for or against labor in this economic field. (Loud cheering and applause.) This is not altogether, at least not yet, a party of academics. (Cries of "Good," and applause.) We who compose the Trades Union Committee, may not be able to write resolutions in choice English, we don't wear any college-granted initials before or after our names, (applause), but we know something (applause) about eating dust; we know something about standing to titter in the machine when the shriek of the factory whistles summons us from our bed-side; we know something about the evils that visit the working class, not as the result of theoretical speculation, or of philosophic academic treatise upon the subject. (Loud applause.) No! We learned in the school of bitter experiences, and we better than anyone else appreciate the motives, the ideals and the aspirations that govern and prompt the working class. Come to us, you college-bred Socialists. (Laughter and applause.) Go to school to us and we will tell you something about what the working class wants and about the working class platform at the present round. (Prolonged cheering and applause.)

DEL. LAMB (Mich.): Comrade

Chairman: Underneath this great question there is a philosophy. There exists in the United States to-day, a great economic force. It is the dominating force, it is the controlling force in society; that force is capitalism. Now let me tell you, comrades, there is a force which you cannot meet with a mere theory. You have got to meet that upon the actual, practical field of the battle of life. (Applause.) Before you can supplant capitalism as the dominating economic force in the United States, you must fit the laboring class to supersede it in its mission. It is not a matter of sentiment; it is a matter of cold, hard fact. The working man to be fit to survive in the economy of society must build himself up, and to must build himself up from the very bottom. Comrades, we propose an industrial state, do we not? We propose an industrial state. What does that mean? It means that every working man in the United States shall be organized first in his craft and then in his class as a workman, through many gradations, through much labor, through much study. I can imagine, Mr. Chairman and Comrades, an industrial state, but I cannot imagine possible an industrial state controlled by politicians, not even by Socialist politicians. (Applause.) There is something the trades union association is all for what? It is growing and fitting itself for what? The individual cannot step into the Socialist state except through the organization of his craft and the Socialist state can never come, never in God's world, without going through the collective training and the association of interests which the trades union gives. They cannot, except through that, reach to the Socialist state. Now we are building an industrial state. In that state the working man, the producer of the wealth of all these, will be the dominant influence, and it will come through the trades unions. Let me say to you, comrades, the co-operative commonwealth never can come through a political organization. It must come through the organization of the trades, and it is coming that way. Now I do not know that I made myself clear upon this. I have little use for politics or politicians. (Laughter.)

DEL. CHAIRMAN: The convention will be in order so you can receive attention.

DEL. LAMB: Is my time up, Comrade Chairman?

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: No, Comrade, I will call upon you when your time is up.

DEL. LAMB: I have little use for politicians of any kind, except as they may educate, but the real educator in the Socialist ranks will understand that the unit of the co-operative commonwealth after the individual, is the organized industry, and only those who operate the machines can organize that industry. I presume I may be followed by those who can treat of this subject better than I do.

Several delegates here endeavored to obtain the floor. The Chairman recognized Delegate Hayes.

DEL. WEBSTER (O.): Comrade Chairman, I suggest that a member on one side be given the floor and then a member on the other side.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Delegate Hayes has the floor.

DEL. COLLINS (Ill.): Point of order.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: What is it?

DEL. COLLINS: I make the same suggestion as that made by the comrade from Ohio, that one delegate on each side be given the floor.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Well, as there has been no rule established and it is near quitting time, we won't stop to make new rules. Delegate Hayes has the floor.

DEL. HAYES (O.): Mr. Chairman, I don't know but what I will probably need less than ten minutes. I was in hopes that the author of the amendment to cut out the sentence that "political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement," would have taken the floor and defended his position upon that proposition. Now having made his defense, I will take the aggressive in the brief time that is allotted to me and make the statement as emphatically as I can, that despite the fact that the history of our movement, national and international, has been, from the day of Marx and La Salle down to date, that the writers have called upon the workers of all countries to unite and throw off the chains of bondage, I say despite

that fact a grand philosopher comes before us here to-night and attempts to cut out that part with reference to other political parties except our own with which the working class may be briefly identified under our present system. The working class of the United States is composed, it is true, of Republicans, of Democrats, of Socialists, Single-taxers and perhaps many other political parties and factions, but even though the men of the old parties, our brethren in the shops and the factories and the mines may be identified with these parties, unconsciously they are struggling against the capitalist class which is turning their muscle and their blood into profits and rolling them up in hundreds of millions of dollars a year. (Applause.) And, the only place that they have through which to give expression of this almost, apparently hopeless struggle, is in the trades union movement as organized at present. Men may rail at and denounce the trades union movement, and while I am not of the opinion that any great number of Socialists do so, still I say there may be an individual here and there who will come into a convention of this kind for the purpose of causing internal dissension, but I say to you whatever dissensions may be raised, I say to you that the trades union movement will survive all of the criticisms and denunciations that may be heaped upon it by the capitalists on one side or the traitors in labor's ranks upon the other side. (Loud applause.) We of the trades union movement are those of us who belong to organized labor are constantly in the forefront of the great battle that is waging in this country. Our battle does not last one day, or one week, or one month, or one year, but it goes on and on until one side or the other wins. (Applause.) If we surrendered our trades unions and placed our dependence solely upon the casting of a ballot once or twice a year, the working class of this country would be in deeper misery than it is to-day (applause) and it is only because of the resisting power (applause), it is only because of the resisting power of the workers in the industrial field that we have secured some concessions, slight as they may be. All in fact that the workers have secured has not been gained by political movements, has not been gained through the old parties,

but has been won despite the opposition of the old parties, and, consequently, it is our duty to bring the trades unionists in line with the Socialist Party and attempt to accomplish politically what we are aiming to do now industriously. (Loud applause.) There is one more point I wish to refer to.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have one minute left.

DEL. HAYES: The statement of the lady delegate of the comrade from Oregon, who said that she was in British Columbia where a battle had been waged unsuccessfully upon the industrial field, and after they had gone down into defeat they rallied to the standard of the Socialist party and would, yes, grant that that is true. But if the men had not been organized, if the men would not have made a fight, you would not have won. (Prolonged applause.)

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: The time for adjournment has now arrived.

Motion was made to suspend the rules and continue in session for all hour, but the motion failed for want of a second.

DEL. BRANDT (Mass.): I make a motion that we continue in session until this matter is settled.

Motion seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is made and regularly seconded that we continue in session until this subject matter is settled. Are you prepared to receive amendments to that motion?

A DELEGATE: I move that the time be extended one hour.

A DELEGATE: I move to lay on the table.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Motion is made that it be laid on the table.

DEL. FARRELL (O.): I move that we extend the time of adjournment one hour.

THE motion was seconded.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Mr. Chairman, I want to submit to the delegates a suggestion that I have and if the delegates will listen I am quite sure that they will agree with me.

A DELEGATE: Mr. Chairman, some of us are getting tired and I think that the question of continuing

later this evening should be discussed a little before a vote is taken.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate is not in order. Comrade Carey has the floor.

DEL. CAREY: What I desire to state is this: That it is clearly apparent that a good many of these members have not attended their trades union meetings, else they would have better knowledge of parliamentary procedure and would keep quieter. (Laughter.) But, Comrades, I desire to state this, that there are some of us who consider this matter to be of more importance than others would consider it, and I believe that in the mood which this convention is in to-night, that we are in no condition to give serious attention to the subject before the house. (Applause.) I believe, Comrades, that if we adjourn now and sleep over it, that we will come out to-morrow and make a better time and be better fitted to take proper action on this matter. (Applause.) Mr. Chairman, would you accept a motion to adjourn?

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: There is a motion already before the house to extend the time until half past eleven, one hour. You will either have to amend that or vote it down.

DEL. SEIVERMAN: Lay it on the table.

DEL. CAREY: Comrade Delegate, whatever may be our particular opinion on this subject, I want to appeal to you as one of those unhappy agitators for the Socialist Party, I want to appeal to you that this question is of too much importance to be settled to-night or hurried through to-night in the mood we are in.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I move to adjourn at this time, or to give ten minutes' discussion to this subject on each side and then adjourn; or if that is not agreeable, I am willing to adjourn, but I insist that I be heard upon this proposition.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: The motion before us is, Comrade Delegates, that we continue this session until half past eleven. That has not been amended.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I rise to amend.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Comrade Spargo has the floor.

DEL. SPARGO: I beg to move as an amendment that we continue the discussion for ten minutes only and then we do adjourn until nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. FARRELL (O.): I want to speak on the amendment.

DEL. KERRIGAN: I want to speak on that amendment and I hope that I will be granted the courtesy of this convention to be given the floor at least once in a while. I have not had the floor but two minutes this whole day. (Laughter.)

DEL. LUCAS (Minn.): I rise to a question of personal privilege.

Several other delegates endeavored to obtain the floor.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Now your Chairman is about as stubborn as anybody in this hall and I will not recognize anybody until we have order.

DEL. LUCAS: Question of privilege.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: There is no question of privilege proper at this time.

DEL. LUCAS: Yes there is. I just want to make a suggestion.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: The delegate will be seated. Delegate Farrell has the floor.

DEL. LUCAS: I have a right to make a suggestion.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Be seated; you are out of order. Delegate Farrell has the floor.

DEL. FARRELL: As a member of this convention—

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: You must speak to the amendment.

DEL. FARRELL: I am going to speak to the amendment and to the business before the house.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: No, you are to speak to the amendment.

DEL. FARRELL: To the amendment, yes, that is before the house. I want to say, Comrades, that as a trades unionist and as a Socialist and as one that is not possessed with any more than the usual physical power, I feel that I am in a position to stay here to-night to settle this all important question. I feel that this convention needs the settling of this question to-night.

I want to say that I have, since this matter was brought out, had a resolution in my hands as an amendment and I wanted to place it before the house, as I believe it will settle this whole proposition; not as a condemnation of the trades union movement—

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: The delegate will be in order. He will speak to the amendment to adjourn in ten minutes.

DEL. FARRELL: All right. I hold that it is to the interest of this convention, and to the interest of the Socialist Party, that this convention be continued at least for one hour more to-night, in an endeavor to settle this question, and for that reason I will vote in favor of extending the time one hour.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Mills has the floor.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): Now, Comrades, I want this motion to adjourn in ten minutes to carry, and for a number of reasons. I want to speak on this question myself. I know twenty other men who want to speak on this question to-night, and they want to speak very badly, and a good number of us are getting a little bit excited. For my part, I do not want to speak to-night. I want the comrades who are in this hall now to adjourn and to go home and go to bed and come back in the morning with the determination that we will speak on this matter without excitement, deliberately and carefully, and decide it as a deliberative body ought to decide a great question such as this is. (Applause.)

DEL. DUCAS (Minn.): All I want to say is this, that in order to settle this we should have equal time to discuss this, and I ask that the time be divided on each side equally.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: The delegate is out of order.

It was moved and seconded that the debate be closed. Motion carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now comes on the motion that this session be extended ten minutes and that we then adjourn until nine o'clock to-morrow morning.

The question was put and the motion carried.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman, I desire to move that an equal number of speakers, if they so desire, on the opposite side to those who have already spoken, be heard to-morrow morning.

The motion was seconded.

CHAIRMAN MORGAN: Will Comrade Spargo please state the motion again?

DEL. SPARGO: Comrade Chairman, I say that although I myself desire to speak on the motion, yet in view of the fact that a considerable number of delegates desire to speak on the other side, that upon the opening of the convention to-morrow, if they so desire, an equal number against the motion ought to be heard before any speakers in favor of it be heard, and that, thereafter, they be heard one on each side.

The motion was seconded and carried.

On motion, the convention then adjourned until nine o'clock, Thursday, May 5, 1904.

FIFTH DAY'S SESSION

Secretary Dobbs called the convention to order at 9 o'clock, and called for nominations for chairman for the day.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I move the nomination of the chairman of yesterday. We have had a chairman who has ruled so completely that I renominate Chairman Sieverman.

The following other nominations were made:

Stedman (Ill.), by Gaylord (Wis.).
W. W. Wilkins, (Cal.) by Irene Smith (Ore.).

Barnes (Pa.), by Collins (Ill.).
Bandlow (Ohio), by Berger (Wis.).
Mailly (Neb.), by Hillquit (N. Y.).

DEL. WHITE (Mass.): I desire to state for Comrade Sieverman that he cannot be here this morning.

THE SECRETARY: Are there any further nominations?

DEL. PATTON (Cal.): I move that we proceed to elect. Motion seconded and carried.

Wilkins and Barnes declined.

The Secretary called for a rising vote on the three remaining candidates, and it resulted as follows: Stedman, 48; Mailly, 55; Bandlow, 7. Delegate Mailly was declared elected and took the chair.

The following were nominated for Vice-Chairman:

Rose (Miss.), by Berger (Wis.).
Stedman (Ill.), by White (Mass.).
Barnes (Pa.), by Hillquit (N. Y.).
Southworth (Colo.), by Cogswell (Kan.).

Bandlow (Ohio), by —
Behrens (Mo.), by —

On motion the nominations were closed.

Rose, Stedman, Barnes, Southworth and Bandlow declined, and Delegate Behrens being the only candidate, was unanimously elected.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary will read the order of business.

THE SECRETARY: We adjourned upon the Trades Union resolutions. Four have spoken favorable to the resolutions, and it was understood that four on the other side would be given time to speak, and then after that there would be an equal division of time.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am informed by the Secretary that the debate upon the Trades Union resolutions was not closed last night. I was not present, so I did not know the status of affairs. I am informed that it was agreed that four speakers in the affirmative having spoken in favor of the resolutions, four should have the floor again.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I move that we proceed to take a vote on this resolution at 11 o'clock. Seconded.

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): To my mind, the only business which we have is to arrive at a conclusion in regard to which side will win.

DEL. WILKINS (Cal.): Is the substitute resolution that we have before us the trades union resolution?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. WILKINS: I was not here last night, and I want the substitute read.

DEL. HANFORD: There is a motion before the house now, and the gentleman cannot rise to a point of information. There is a question before the house now, which is that we proceed to vote at 11 o'clock. It is to that motion I am now talking, and I do not know why the delegates here should not be aware of it or be in a position to ask information upon it. I merely want to talk briefly to the proposition that we proceed to vote at 11 o'clock.

Regardless of what the result of this vote may be, notwithstanding the fact that I am prepared to vote and I know many others here are, to my mind it is important to this body that on any

practical question which arises we should get the opinions of comrades on both sides of that question at least, and we should not move the previous question until each side has been heard to the limit. I want to see this convention accomplish the remainder of its work in the shortest possible manner, but, Mr. Chairman, I have a volume here which tells me what it is to cut off the debate, and it tells me what it is, regardless of the fact that you may have a majority on your side, to get away from the proposition simply because you can. This is a proposition on which we want, not to discuss the personality of various people on different sides of the question, but to discuss the merits of the question and we will not be satisfied with the discussion of the merits of the question until every delegate here who has something to say has been heard. The point I wish to make is this: If we do discuss the question fully, and if instead of discussing each other, we confine ourselves to the merits of the question, then whatever decision is made, we can expect unanimity in the support of it. But if, instead of that, we go into a consideration of this man's past and that man's future, it will lead us away from an effort to reach the intelligence of the comrades not by a mere majority conclusion, whatever it may be, but a practically unanimous conclusion, by the enlightenment of the comrades on this question, something which we all need, every one of us.

DEL SLOBODIN (N. Y.): Reasoning from the premises of Comrade Hanford, we should never adopt the previous question until every delegate who wants to be heard on the particular question has been heard. We want to transact some business. We have been learning something about the proposition before us. It was discussed for two hours at least yesterday, and we have two hours before us to discuss it yet, and I think we should proceed to vote upon this proposition. I move to amend that we vote not later than 11 o'clock, if you will permit, and there is no objection.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection the motion will be amended to read "Not later than 11 o'clock."

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I have not occupied much time, but I want to

suggest a question on this motion. There are two propositions before this convention. The first thing we should decide is this: Shall this convention formulate an expression of the relations, in attitude, rather, of the Socialist Party towards trade unions? That is the first question, and that is the one that has been debated so far entirely. Now, let us grant, for the sake of argument, that that is carried in the affirmative. Then the next question is, what shall be the formulated expression? What shall constitute the resolution? Gentlemen, tell us here, and perhaps they are right—I am not here to deny it—that people say that if we fail to formulate an expression, this movement goes to pieces. Then this is a very important matter, and hence, the formulation of that expression is a very vital thing. This debate is going on simply on the answer to the first question. Shall we formulate an expression at all? Therefore, Mr. Chairman, I move as a substitute for the motion that is now before the house that the first vote taken in disposing of the report of the Committee on Resolutions shall be an answer to the question, "Shall this convention formulate an expression of the attitude of the Socialist Party toward trade unions?" And settle that question only. Then we will get down out of the clouds to the resolution itself as a secondary matter. That would naturally follow.

Substitute seconded by Delegate Parks.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Mr. Chairman, I want to say this: There was a very wise man who tried to save time by making all sorts of motions, and we spent valuable time that ought to be devoted to the real subject of disposing of such propositions as this. I want to close the debate at 11 o'clock, vote for it; if you don't, vote it down. Let us stop chewing the rag about non-essentials and get at the question.

Delegate Kerrigan moved to lay the motion on the table. (Seconded.)

Delegate Sieverman moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

The motion to close the debate until later than 11 o'clock was put and lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The secretary will now read the substitute and amendment of the matter before the house.

THE SECRETARY: There is quite a number. There is the original as offered by the committee, and there are a couple of amendments to change the phraseology, and there is an entirely new substitute. I think it would consume valuable time unless they want them all read.

THE CHAIRMAN: Everybody has the original motion. Let us hear the substitute. You already have the original resolution before you on the tables.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I would like to say that I believe every delegate in this hall understands the substitute fully. Let us get down to debating the question and not consume more time. This was read once last night.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then we will proceed to debate upon the substitute.

The Secretary then read the substitute resolution offered by Delegate Ott of Wyoming at Wednesday's session.

The question was called for.

DEL. CAREY: I rise to discuss a question that I have been trying to get at since yesterday, the trade union question. Have I the floor to discuss the trade union question?

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Carey.

DEL. BROWER (Ill.): A point of order. At the close of last night's session a motion was carried and the chairman stated specifically that when this matter was taken up this morning the sides should be divided until the speakers against the side of the trade union resolution should have as many speeches as the other side, prior to any one else speaking in defense of the proposition, and then other speakers might take the floor. I submit to you that this is out of order.

DEL. CAREY: When I arose on this side no man rose to oppose it, and I took the floor to defend it.

DEL. COLLINS (Ill.): I rise to a point of order. I do not think that motion was passed last night.

THE SECRETARY: The motion was passed as stated by the gentleman from Illinois, and it was understood that as many speakers in opposition to the trade union motion should be heard as were heard in advocacy of the trade union motion.

DEL. COLLINS: I would like to make a suggestion, to save time; that

the comrades that are against the resolution on trade unionism pick out six on their side, or as many as you want, or nine; then let us pick out six or nine on the other side. I think that will satisfy the trade union side.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is no motion on the subject.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I trust we will start the debate, and I hope that those who are opposed to the resolution will make their presence known now. They have not been heard yet, and it is about time that we heard from them as quick as possible.

DEL. CAREY: If there is any understanding that those opposed to the resolutions are entitled to this time I am perfectly willing to yield. It will be 11 o'clock soon. I am perfectly willing to yield.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am going to call on Comrade Cross, assistant secretary, to read the exact status of affairs, as I was not present last night. I have relied upon the statement of Comrade Cross and want to get it before the delegates so as to facilitate matters.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): I rise to a question of personal privilege. I wish to protest against the statement that those opposed to this resolution are opposed to trade unionism. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: That is no question of personal privilege.

ASST. SECRETARY CROSS: The matter before the house is as follows: You are at present debating the substitute offered by Comrade Ott of Wyoming. You are not debating trade unionism or anything else, but you must debate upon the substitute as offered by Ott of Wyoming.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I move to table the substitute. Seconded.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): That is the most outrageous idea I ever heard of.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): The delegates will remember that I was in the chair when we adjourned last night. The chairman was not present. There was a motion passed which the secretary has not read, and I would like to state it for the information of the delegates. The motion was that we should continue in session for ten minutes; that then we should adjourn, and that

to-morrow (this) morning as many speakers who were opposed to the adoption of the resolution should have the floor as there had been in favor of the resolution. The debate commenced with a lady from one of the western states here. She opposed the resolutions in toto. That was followed by a member from Missouri, and then our friend here (Delegate Lamb, of Michigan), and Max Hayes. All three of those spoke in favor of the trade union proposition, and it is in order, unless we consider the motion passed last night, now to give to the opponents of the resolution three speakers.

A DELEGATE: Four.

DEL. MORGAN: No, three speakers. Now, you ought to be satisfied. I am in favor of the resolutions, and I am making this plea for you, and I say there were three, and that is in accordance with the resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Morgan, who was vice-chairman yesterday, and in the chair when yesterday's session adjourned, states that in accordance with the resolution adopted there are three speakers opposed to the adoption of the trade union resolution entitled to the floor.

DEL. MORGAN: That is right.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I rise to a point of order. So far from there being three, there were five, the names of the delegates speaking being Hayes of Ohio, Lamb of Michigan, Sieverman of New York, Hoehn of Missouri and Brandt of Missouri. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: And there was one opposed, Smith of Oregon.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): A point of information. The secretary stated that the only thing that was in order now to be discussed was the substitute resolution offered by the comrade from Wyoming. I claim, intending to participate in this discussion, that under the motion to strike out from some delegate in Illinois the entire subject matter arising from the report of the committee on Trades Unions is before the house. That is my conception of it.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is to say, that the original resolution and the substitute are both before the house.

DEL. BERLYN: And the motion to strike out, all are before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: And the motion to strike out what?

DEL. BERLYN: This clause. There was a motion made by a comrade that that should be stricken out, "Political differences of opinion do not and should not justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement."

THE CHAIRMAN: The assistant secretary has suggested that he do what I wanted him to do at first, read the minutes of last night's session relating to this matter, and I must insist on order until the secretary is through reading the minutes of that part of the session.

ASST. SECRETARY CROSS: Report of committee on trade unions taken up. Moved to suspend rules one hour; seconded and carried. Moved by Dalton, Ill., to strike out clause beginning with "political conditions" and ending with "industrial movement." That was also seconded. Goazion of Pennsylvania moved to add to the last paragraph the words, "any more than difference of opinion has to the best form of industrial organization should divide the working class in the political movement." Moved to lay on table, which was ruled out of order as not debatable. Discussed by Hoehn of Missouri. Moved by Ott of Wyoming and seconded that the resolution be amended, and then he offered his substitute which has been read to you this morning by the secretary a few moments ago. It was then moved to continue in session until the matter is settled; seconded. Moved to lay on table; carried. Moved to continue for one hour; seconded.

Spargo amends to continue for ten minutes, and then adjourn until 9 o'clock Thursday; this was seconded. Moved previous question; carried. Motion to extend ten minutes and adjourn until 9 o'clock Thursday morning; that was carried. Ott, amend to extend for one hour, was not put before the house. Moved by Spargo that an equal number of speakers talk on each side of the question and that those against speak first. Carried, and the convention adjourned amidst uproar.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I move to table the substitute. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved to table the substitute offered by Comrade Ott.

Question called for.

The motion was put on the question of tabling the substitute, and was decided carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now, as I understand, reverts upon the house.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): According to the rule that was adopted last night we ought not to dispose of any of these resolutions before we have a chance to talk upon these subjects.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now reverts upon Delegate Goazion's amendment.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Last night we voted that a certain number of those opposed to the trade union proposition should be given the floor equal to the number of those that had already talked for it. What I want to know is, are they going to talk or not?

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Talk, talk.

DEL. PARKS: I want to talk, Mr. Chairman. I want to talk.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will recognize no one for the proposition.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): A point of order. My point is that when a comrade asks the floor it is not right for the chair to question what side he is on. He can develop his argument as he pleases.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now reverts upon Delegate Goazion's amendment.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I rise to a point of order. We adopted a rule last night for the order of business this morning as to the discussion of this trade union resolution. I want to know if we are going to have a right to talk about it. That is my point of order. I will hold the floor until it is decided.

DEL. CROSS: I would suggest that you talk on the resolution.

DEL. PARKS: That is what I want to do. I ask for the floor for that purpose.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Parks certainly has the privilege of the floor, but I want him to talk to the question.

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Talk, talk.

DEL. GIBBS: I suggest that he take the club.

DEL. PARKS (holding up his club):

I will state that that club is more powerful than the potmen's club, and more authority than Roberts' Rules of Order, because I use it as a symbol for truth and not for truth itself.

THE CHAIRMAN: Talk to the question.

DEL. PARKS: My friends, there are some objections urged against talking upon this side of this question, some saying that the people who are opposed to some of the resolutions brought up here are simply educated people who don't want the proposition discussed and are throwing a slur at the people who are studying the philosophy of Socialism and social problems. My friends, Karl Marx was one of the best educated men that the world ever produced, and carried Ph. D. at the end of his name. If it had not been for Karl Marx we would not have had "Capital" written, and we would not perhaps have had the Communist Manifesto. My friends, it would be a good idea if some of these labor union men that are so active in this discussion would spend five cents and buy a copy of the Communist Manifesto, which I propose to quote this morning, upon this side of the question (Applause.) The thing we want to look out for is not to divide the workers. Karl Marx said, "Workers of the World, unite; you have nothing but your chains to lose, you have a world to gain." We ought to unite all the workers, and not make a statement to appeal to one class of workers. (Applause.) If we take a special side and make Socialism a union movement we will divide the workers, and we will be doing the identical things that the capitalists succeed in doing, having the sea and the union men fighting one another. What we want to do is to go before the working men of the United States and appeal to all classes, and not to any one particular class. Capital and capitalism favor unionism so long as they can use unionism for their weapon. (Applause.) Roosevelt himself is a union man, and you will hear union men tell you that Roosevelt is the greatest American and that he has done a great deal down in the American anthracite fields to protect the rights of laboring men. We are not a union party. We are a working men's party, and we want that distinctly understood. (Applause.) What is unionism? Unionism simply begs for more wages, higher

wages. What is Socialism? We propose to abolish the wage system. (Applause.) What is the interest of the working man when he goes into a union? Is it because of the spirit of solidarity or is it because of the selfish advantage he gets out of it? Most of them go into it because they are going to help out their pocketbooks. Now, my friends, we know that in 1848 Karl Marx wrote the Communist Manifesto. We know that at that time, according to the preface written by Frederick Engels, there was a great union movement all over Europe. Karl Marx was called upon to write a manifesto that would appeal to all the workers of the world, and he wrote a manifesto which became the platform of the workers of the world when these trade union movements on the continent and in England went to pieces. Unionism rises and falls, but Socialism is my friends, a science as true as the science of mathematics, and it will last as long as the universe lasts. My friends, the unions went to pieces after the insurrection in Paris in 1848, and they tell us in the preface:

"When the European working class had recovered sufficient strength for another attack on the ruling classes, the International Working Men's Association sprang up. But this association, formed with the express aim of welding into one body the whole militant proletariat of Europe and America, could not at once promulgate the principles laid down in the Manifesto. The International was bound to have a program broad enough to be acceptable to the English Trades Unions, to the followers of Proudhon in France, Belgium, Italy and Spain, and to the Lassalleans in Germany. Marx, who drew up the program to the satisfaction of all parties, entirely trusted to the intellectual development of the working class, which was sure to result from combined action and mutual discussion. The very events and vicissitudes of the struggle against capital, the defeats even more than the victories, could not help bringing home to men's minds the insufficiency of their various favorite nostrums, and preparing the way for a more complete insight into the true conditions of working-class emancipation. And Marx was right. The International, on its breaking up

in 1874, left the workers quite different men from what it had found them in 1864."

I will read the whole of it:

"Proudhonism in France, Lassalleism in Germany, were dying out, and even the conservative English trades unions, though most of them had long since severed their connection with the International, were gradually advancing towards that point at which last year at Swansea, their president could say in their name, 'national Socialism had lost its terrors for us'."
(Here the gavel fell.)

DEL. GIBBS (Mass.): Comrade Chairman—

THE CHAIRMAN: On which side are you?

DEL. GIBBS: In opposition to the committee's report as presented. I wish to speak in opposition to the committee's report as presented to this convention, but first I wish to resent the insinuation that those who are opposed to this report are also opposed to the trades union movement. (Applause.) I would not do one single thing to lessen or to weaken the bonds of fraternal union which exists between trade unionism, and the Socialist movement. I speak in opposition to this motion because I believe the time is coming rapidly, if that time is not already here, when the Socialist movement must cease making any special appeals to any particular part of the working class (applause), and must recognize that our sole mission is to the whole of the working class. Now, Mr. Chairman, it is unfortunate, perhaps, that I am obliged to speak from the standpoint of the despised professional. I say that may be somewhat unfortunate. It is true, friends, that I am obliged to wear a longitudinal crease in my pants, but I do it for exactly the same reason that some of you fellows are obliged to wear a horizontal crease in your overalls. It is true that I am obliged to wear a clean shirt, for exactly the same reason that some of you fellows are obliged to wear dirty shirts. It is true that I am obliged to carry around a professional title in front of my name, for exactly the same reason that some of you fellows don't wear a title. But I want to say that I have found out this, that my grocer, when he sends his

bill, sometimes makes a mistake and puts the "Dr." after my name instead of I in front. I am not proud of these things. These are simply the badges of my servitude. I recognize the fact, in other words, that my profession has been reduced to the level of the wage working class. I am speaking from the floor of this convention to-day, not as a friend of the working class, for I despise that term, but I am speaking as a working man myself. (Applause.) I want to remind you, friends, that I have not learned the philosophy of Socialism out of a book. I have learned it by the hard and bitter experiences of my own life. (Applause.) I learned the A B C's of Socialism standing in the rag room of a paper mill at eleven years of age, when I was obliged to stand upon a salt box to reach the top of the table that I was working at, and I have been perfectly at home upon a salt box, a soap box, a shoe box or any other old kind of a box ever since. In other words, my capitalist friends build better than they knew, and that is the way they made a Socialist orator out of me. While I speak from the standpoint of the orator, I deplore any taunts or any sneers or bitterness that may be raised between these two sections or elements in our party. I want to say that I fling back to our friends of the trade union movement these taunts that they have flung at us. I simply decline to accept those taunts; that is all. They cannot hurt me with that brickbat because I wear the armor of intense loyalty to the working class movement which cannot be penetrated by any such mere taunts as those. I want to say that when the work of this convention shall have been completed we will both stand together; we will clasp hands together, and we will stand shoulder to shoulder, fellow-comrades in the working class movement of the world. (Applause.) Now, I want to tell you, friends, what kind of a Socialist I am. I hold that it is the supreme or the first duty of the Socialist movement to proclaim to the whole of the working class that it is a slave class. I say, to the whole working class, and not to any particular part of it.

Delegate Webster (Ohio) arose.

THE CHAIRMAN (to Delegate Gibbs): You have three minutes.

DEL. GIBBS: Under the rule, we are entitled to ten minutes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Go ahead, Comrade Gibbs.

DEL. GIBBS: I want to tell you what kind of a Socialist I am. I hold that it is the first duty of the Socialist movement to proclaim to the whole of the working class that it is a slave class; in other words, to draw the class line so clear and distinct that the working man, though a trade union man, cannot err therein. It is our first duty, I say, to proclaim the fact that the whole working class is a slave class. We must proclaim the fact to the farm slave and to the factory slave, to the educated and to the ignorant slave, to the scab slave and to the union slave; to the black slave and to the white slave alike. (Applause.) As our second duty we must unite these parts of the working class in a solid political organization which will grasp the powers of government for the sole purpose that it may emancipate the working class. And our third duty, as I conceive it—perhaps the highest and holiest duty which the Socialist movement has to-day—is to proclaim to all classes and to the whole world that we proclaim the class struggle for the sole and supreme purpose that we may forever abolish the class struggle. (Applause.) Now, friends, that, I say, is my conception of Socialism and the Socialist movement. If that is academical Socialism, I am an academical Socialist. Now, ask the question, What relation does the trade union movement bear to this program? And I want to suggest right here, friends, that it is not for us to show our position towards the trade unions, but it is for the trade unions to show their position towards us. (Applause.) I want to thank my comrade, Lamb, of Michigan, for making one point clear. He declared that we must endorse the trade unions in order that they might recognize the fact that we must have the organized workers of the world in the future to carry forward the organized work of the world. I recognize the force of that argument, but I want to say in reply that it is equally true that we must have the organized wage-workers of the world, and we must also have and endorse the organized workers

in every other department of life. Following the logic of his argument, we should endorse, for instance, organizations of the farmers, because in the future co-operative commonwealth we must have organized farmers. We ought to endorse the organizations of the doctors, for in the future co-operative commonwealth we must have doctors; and I suspect, friends, that if some of us don't stop wasting our nervous and physical strength here we will need some of the doctors before we get through with this convention. (Laughter.) I want to say, also, that following that same line of logic, we ought to endorse the ministers' organizations and associations, for I suspect we are going to require a few ministers to assist at the funeral of capitalism and take care of the moral wrecks that we leave behind. In other words, I hold that our mission is to the whole of the working class. I am opposed to this motion not because I am opposed to the trade union, but because I am opposed to any special endorsement of any fractional part of the working class, for that special endorsement obscures the clear line of the class struggle. It keeps the workers divided. In other words, it does the old, old world-wide, ages-long capitalist trick, keeps the workers divided against each other, and just so long as we are willing to do that or in any way to aid them, just so long the capitalist system and the capitalists will remain in power. Therefore, I am opposed to this motion in its present form. I believe we should maintain our freedom and sympathetic attitude towards the trade unions, but we should simply from this time on "gang our own gang," hew straight to the line of the class struggle, and let the chips fall where they may. (Applause.)

DEL. KRAYBILL (Kan.): Comrades, I want to ask, should not those who have not yet spoken upon this proposition have an even opportunity upon the floor? Is it not capitalistic to monopolize the time? Let us hear from those who have not been heard before.

Delegate Berlyn (Ill.) arose.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do I understand that Delegate Berlyn speaks in opposition to the trade union resolution?

DEL. BERLYN: I am going to speak

in opposition to the motion to strike out that clause.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Berlyn has not the floor. Comrade Toole.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): Comrades, I am opposed to the trade union resolution as reported, but on different grounds from those of the last speaker. I am opposed to this resolution not because I am opposed to trade unionism, but because this resolution ties the Socialist Party to one particular brand of trade unionism. (Applause.) I submit this to this convention; that organized labor continually shifts to meet the attacks of organized capital. It is only a short while ago that the old Knights of Labor went to pieces because it did not meet the industrial conditions that obtained. I also submit that present conditions are such that the trade union pure and simple, the blind policies laid down by the American Federation of Labor, are not such as to meet the present industrial conditions. (Applause.) And I submit this: that if the trade union movement is carried on the present lines laid down by Gompers it will be wrecked in its opposition to capitalism; that is at the mercy of organized capital. For between the courts and the injunctions on the one side, and the militia and the Employers' Associations on the other, the near future sees the smash of organized labor, and if this convention ties the Socialist Party to that peculiar brand of trade unionism, we go down in the wreck of trade unionism pure and simple. (Applause.) Mr. Chairman and members of the convention, I am in favor of trade unionism, but I am in favor of a form of trade unionism that meets modern industrial conditions. (Applause), and I say this, that a form of trade unionism that does not declare for the ballot is puerile, childish and not worthy the support of a body of Socialists. (Applause.) Because I submit this: that the modern form of trade unionism has its beginnings and its bounds within the present system, and that the very minute it reaches a point where it can be effective, that very minute it becomes the weakest, because the very minute it becomes so strong that it ties up capitalistic organizations, that very minute capitalism is bound to destroy it because it can no longer exist. I mean by that that the logical

policy of trade unionism is to raise wages; that it is to reduce production; that it is to put the conduct of the business in the hands of the trade unions; and I say that when that point arrives at which the trade unions are striving and at which they must strive as trade unions, that that very point proves the destruction of trade unionism, because capitalism is bound to destroy it or die. But the weak point is this: that they have left the powers of government in the hands of the capitalists. They are powerless and there is where we are drifting to. The capitalists are of necessity forced to smash the trade union movement, and the trade union men have put all the powers of government in the hands of the capitalists. If we understand the industrial conditions, what must we do as Socialists? Must we bind ourselves to this puerile form of trade union organization? I repeat, I am not opposed to trade union organizations, but at this critical moment we must do one of two things: we must either leave the men out of the industrial movement to fight it out as those in control of the industrial movement see fit, or else we must do this: we must rise to the occasion, we must get out of the mire of opportunism and rise to the heights of revolutionary action. (Applause.) We must do one of two things: we must either leave the trade union movement to take its own course, and take no action in it whatsoever, or else declare that the Socialist Party, the organized revolutionary proletariat itself, will take charge not only of the political movement, but of the trade union movement as well. In the language of Daniel, we must dare, and we must dare again. And it is up to us, comrades, whether we will rise to this occasion: whether we will go forth from this convention determined and inspired by all the martyrs of the past. Let me tell you, comrades, let me refer you to the conditions in Colorado, to-day, and I want to say that until that condition arose in Colorado I would have been in favor of a resolution like this. But I was more impressed by what a delegate from Colorado told me to-day, that when he was brought up to the bullpen, they told him that if he were a Gompers Socialist, that he was all right, "pure and simple" Socialist, he was all right. Comrades, let me repeat in con-

clusion, we must do either one thing or the other: we must decide to let the trade unions take their own course, leaving the trade unions to follow out the lines of industrial development and we will frame our action, or we must make up our minds to take the revolutionary policy and conduct the trade union movement ourselves. Otherwise, if we tie ourselves to a moribund organization, if we tie ourselves to an organization that is already dead in purpose and principle, we will miss the opportunity and we will let the golden moment slide by, and perhaps die with the movement that we tie ourselves to. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Wilkins of California. This is the last speaker in opposition, making the fifth speaker.

DEL. BERTHA WILKINS (Cal.): There are different kinds of union movements in this country. Some unions are class conscious and some unions are merely craft conscious. The craft conscious union man is always talking about the scab. The class conscious man is a Socialist. The Western Federation of Labor has declared for Socialism. The union men in the conditions that have not declared for Socialism are like people who build a levee of sand bags to hold back the rising river. The true Socialist is building a levee that shall stand for all time. The unionist who is also a Socialist is a class conscious union man. I take a middle ground on this line practically; theoretically, I do not. I was asked the other day, for instance, I am a typewriter—"If you were making your living at typesetting would you join a union?" I said I would join a union; I could not do anything else. I asked the lady who spoke yesterday against this substitute, "Would you join the union?" She said, "I would not join the union." That is the difference. In practice, therefore, I would take the middle ground; in theory, I take no middle ground. It seems to me that even if I were in the union, I could not give my heart and my energy to simple and pure unionism. They would get my dollar and a half a month for dues. It would be a perfunctory procedure. If I belonged to the union; it would not be the work that I should want to do. My real work would be

given to Socialism, to class conscious Socialism. I believe that between 1904 and 1908 the path of unionism is not going to be a path strewn with roses. I believe that in the west at least the powers of capitalism are uniting so that they will have a very serious time as they are having in Colorado. In all cities of the west the merchants and manufacturers' associations and the citizens' alliances are organizing. They are doing it quietly, but they are doing it well and I believe that between 1904 and 1908 we will have existing in other places the conditions now existing in Colorado, and perhaps in many other places. (Applause.) Even now, 10,000 men are out of work in Southern California, and many of those men are union men, hitting the pipe while many non-union men are at work side by side with union men. The union then is to a certain extent doomed. With the power of capitalism absolutely united against unionism, the union is doomed because the union is fighting with a little rock against the gnatling gun. And so, to-day, I believe that the Western Federation of Miners, which has taken a stand for Socialism, which has also taken the stand of not resisting the powers that be, the powers of capitalism—has taken the wise stand, and it seems to me that this convention should command that stand.

DEL JONAS (N. Y.): And vote the Democratic ticket.

DEL WILKINS: When Comrade Floaten was taken from his house at night and was walked barefoot over the ground, the blood that stained that snow was as honorable as any blood ever shed upon the battle field; and when Comrade Floaten was taken to the next time a man breaks into his house, he will die right there, Comrade Floaten makes a mistake. Right there it seems to me we should make a stand. Are we to resist the authorities or are we not to resist the authorities?—and I have passed a resolution in to the Committee to that effect. I believe we should make to that effect. I believe we should make a definite stand on that proposition. Is the theory, the policy of non-resistance to the officials in authority the right policy? I say that it is the right policy, and that Comrade Floaten when he did not resist did the right thing. Bebel says, "If you resist the authorities that be you make of your bodies cannon

feed, simply cannon feed." That is what they want us to do so they may have a chance to kill us. But let us have it so established that every time something happens in the course of a strike, every time an accident happens in the mines where the men are striking, every time a building burns down in the strike country, in the strike field, let us have it known everywhere that the capitalists themselves paid for those things, that they hired men to burn down those buildings, that they hired somebody to cause the explosion in the mine. That is the case to a great extent in Germany. In Germany, however, the conditions are very different from the conditions in this country. The unions are like the Western Federation of Miners, almost without exception Socialist organizations. (Applause.)

The conditions, therefore, are not parallel to the conditions in this country. When the Comrade from St. Louis yesterday said that the Socialists must be the backbone of the labor unions and the labor unions must be the backbone of the Socialist movement, I say that that might be true in Germany, but the conditions are different in this truest hidden country, very different. I want to say again, my sympathies go out to the unions that are class conscious and have declared for Socialism. But the craft conscious Socialists who have just a little 2 by 4 pen around their organization, cannot help us on this question. If we pass a resolution it seems to me I should be commendatory of the few unions which have declared for Socialism. You should draw a clear cut line between the Socialist unions and the non-Socialist unions.

A DELEGATE: My Chairman—

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will recognize no one until he makes a statement. When the Chair told Comrade Parks that his time was up it was because the Chair was under the impression that the three minute rule prevailed. He was not aware that ten minutes were allowed, that the regular ten minutes for each speaker was in order, and Comrade Parks was, therefore, allowed only three minutes out of his regular ten. I am, therefore, going to call on Comrade Parks for the remaining seven minutes so that he can conclude his argument. (Applause.)

DEL PARKS: My friends, I say

the Socialist agitators will handle this union problem all right if you will put us in such a position that the capitalists cannot go before the unorganized workers and tell them that I am opposed to the scabs and am taking sides with the union man. My friends, the Socialist agitator should be able to teach the doctrine of the class struggle, economic determinism and surplus value. The class struggle is only one of the doctrines, and trade unionism is only one of the forms of the class struggle. Now, my friends, as I said a little while ago I use this as an emblem of truth (exhibiting his painted club). Carroll D. Wright says that organized labor on the average produces something like ten dollars' worth of goods a day when it is employed, and that the average wages are something less than two dollars a day. Now, my friends, what is the laboring man doing in order to get more of the product of his labor? I raise this stick to represent the ten dollars, and I use this part of the stick (indicating the short end of the stick) to represent what labor gets, or two dollars. This (exhibiting the long end) represents what goes to capital in the shape of rent, interest and profit. The politician tells the laboring man that the interests of capital and the interests of labor are identical. The Socialist agitator should go forth and show that the interests of labor and the interests of capital are absolutely antagonistic, and that there is a class struggle, and politics is the science of the governmental control of men. Socialism is the science of the administration of things. (Applause.) We do not want to put anything into our platform or pass any resolutions here to catch votes. We want to put in a statement of principles before that will appear to the reason of the world. My friends, this, as I say (the long end), according to the statement of Carroll D. Wright, represents the proportion which goes to capital, and this (the short end), represents the proportion that goes to labor. Now, the laboring man, in order to get more of what he creates, forms a union. What for? To force up wages. When wages go up, rent, interest and profit diminish. The capitalist sees that the higher wages go the less rent, interest and profit he has. This is only true in the gold mining industries of Colorado and the rest of the

world, because the capitalist cannot put the increased wages upon the price of gold. The price of gold is fixed in the markets of the world. The capital of the west, in order to break down the union, is shipping in scab labor to force down wages, for when wages go down, rent, interest and profit go up. There is the class struggle, my friends, and what the Socialist should do is to go to the laboring man and point out that there is a class struggle, and that the interests of labor and the interests of capital are absolutely opposed. Now, the laboring man, in order to get more of when you take the other industries, except in the gold mines in the west, you see there is no class struggle going on between the capitalists and the laboring men because when the laboring man force up wages what the capitalist loses in the shape of wages he puts upon the prices of the goods that the laboring man has got to buy back. (Applause.) Now, my friends, we should go forth and teach the laboring man that in order to stop this exploitation the laboring man must own the machine that he produces the goods with; and that is Socialism. Now, my friends, I am not opposed to unionism. I was once a member of the American Labor Union myself. There has been a kind of a slur thrown out here that perhaps I have gotten all my training in Socialism from schools and from books. My friends, when I was a student of the university, the best work I could do was teaching school at \$30 to \$35 a month. I went out and joined the proletarians of Colorado, and I have traveled all over the west and mixed with all kinds of people and worked in all sorts and conditions of trades. I have worked in the scab mines, on the ranches and in mining camps and lumber camps and different places, and I was able to make more money at common labor than at practicing law or teaching school. And, my friends, I wish it distinctly understood that I am not simply a theoretical, school-book Socialist. Now, as to unionism, there is some good coming out of the unions; there is great good coming of the unions. The union is developing class consciousness. The union does good because it gives the union man a drill in parliamentary practice and tactics, and it is a good thing. It is unfortunate that most of the workers of the world are not

united in any sort of shape. As I said before, my friends, if we divide the workers we will be doing just the thing that the capitalists have always succeeded heretofore in doing. We want to appeal to all the workers of the world to unite, and not make any special appeal to anybody. We can point out to the labor union man and show him where his position is, and that it is only a means to an end; that we have the organization, and that our aim is industrial freedom, and with industrial freedom will come the freedom of all the workers of the world. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The debate will now continue an hour, with one speaker on either side until the time is up.

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): Mr. Chairman, I want to call the attention of the convention to this fact, that the argument against trades unions has been reduced to that (holding up Delegate Park's stick). Take it (handing the stick to Delegate Parks). This argument against trade unionism has been reduced to a piece of wood, like those persons who are looking around and calling on the workers to unite, and then when they come to a Socialist body they argue for the men that refuse to unite. (Applause.) But, aside from that—remember the stick!—in the name of the workers of this country, I thank those excellent lawyers and doctors who constitute themselves an advisory board to wean the trade union movement. I thank them for their advice. We do not understand English, but we do understand this fact, that the economic movement of the working class, whatever its mistakes, whatever its limitations, whatever the errors of leaders or the form of organization, the economic movement of the working class, in the shape of the trade union movement, is the expression of a protest from me and my brother at the machine. (Applause.) Call the union what you will, be its form of organization what it may, but when my brother and I working in the factory say to our master that we want more, we are giving the first expression of the awakening consciousness of the working class. (Applause.) It is well for you, who do not know the daily struggle of the working class in the shop—it is well for you to rap us over the knuckles for our

mistakes, and we thank you for it. But remember this: That whatever you say or whatever you may not say about us, we of the working class are confronted not with a vote next year, but we are confronting our master in the factory every day, and not only once a year. (Applause.) And we have the courage, not to go out on a street corner and deliver lectures on a stick, but we have the courage, that the trade union movement who are Socialists, to fight our bosses in the factory every day, and then at the ballot box. The trade union movement exists not because I want it or you do not want it. The trade union exists because of the economic division of society. The labor union is a form of protest on the part of the workers of the world against conditions under which the labor power of the workers shall be sold at such prices as to reduce the workers to a level where they will be incapable of reaching the heights of the Socialist philosophy. (Applause.) We of the trade union movement who are Socialists seek to protect our class from being forced down into the lower levels of animal degradation. We meet the conditions, we compete, we of the trade union movement that are Socialists while you people are writing books and giving us philosophical dissertations on a stick. (Laughter and applause.) We are defending our class, preserving its manhood, guarding it against such degradation as would make it impossible even to understand the gentleman from Kansas. (Laughter.) That is our position. And I tell you, Comrades, that it does not matter to us of the trade union movement what you do, but it will be a sorry spectacle, and it is a sorry spectacle, that that portion of the working class who rise to Marx's appeal and unite in defense of themselves, must needs plead with you for recognition of them. (Applause.) And it is to the everlasting discredit of every man who, while he may argue Socialism from a stick, as the opposition to the trades union movement was finally reduced to—

A DELEGATE: I rise to a point of order. The delegate is not defending trades unionism.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point is not well taken.

THE DELEGATE: I appeal.

DEL. CAREY: All right; go ahead, raise your points. We will stay with you if you want us.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate will proceed.

DEL. CAREY: I beg your pardon. I just want to call attention to the simple fact that the trades union movement, despite what you may do or what you may not do, the trades union will exist whether you wish it to exist or not. Just at present I am one of the agitators for Socialism, and I am going home; but when I go home and go into the shop and confront the conditions there, and beside me is some poor ignorant working man who has risen to the point where he appreciates the forces pressing him downward, and he says to me, "Jim, let us make a stand for better conditions in this factory," I will hand him over Karl Marx. (Laughter and applause.) Yes, I will talk Socialism, too. But at the same time I will stand beside him as he fights for the preservation of his manhood and to keep my class from the lower levels, in order, you intelligent persons—in order that he may be capable of understanding Karl Marx. These gentlemen, every one, who have slapped the trades unions and then stood there and you agreed with them, they are good fellows, and we are good fellows, and yet they give us a whack in the jaw. They remind me of the fellow who asked a boy to watch his team for a few minutes. He said to the boy, "Is your father a Christian?" The boy said, "Yes, but he don't work at it." (Laughter.) And these lovers of the trades union movement, they are in it, but they are not working at it just now. (Applause.) But whatever your position, I repeat again, what would you do, you men that have spoken against us, and you women? What would you do in case of a street car strike here in Chicago? What would you do? Would you ride or would you walk?

A DELEGATE: Walk.

DEL. CAREY: Exactly, you would walk. Yes, and yet you don't want to divide the working class. Don't you know that you are turning down that non-union man who is running the car? You take your position with whom? With us? That is what you do. And

you cannot avoid it. You intelligent Socialists, during a street car strike presenting an unhappy division between the non-union and the union man, what will you do? You will go on making Socialist speeches, but will you ride on the scab cars and stand for the scab? No, you will refuse to ride, and you will stand with the trade unionists that are making that contest. (Applause.)

DEL. FARRELL (Ohio): I spoke last night in favor of continuing the meeting last night for one hour, but did not have the pleasure of talking on the resolution before the house. Comrade Chairman and Comrades, I thank you for giving me the opportunity to speak on this question. I want to say that I do not consider myself more capable than anybody else to talk intelligently on this question, but I perhaps may have had more experience in the trades union movement than some of the Marx case. I have been an active trade unionist for the past fifteen or eighteen years. I want to say that I stand before this convention to-day as a trade unionist, and one who carries a paid-up card in one of the biggest organizations in this country. (Applause.) But I want to say also, Comrade Chairman and Comrades, that I stand here first of all as a member of the Socialist Party of America, and then as a member of the Socialist Party of the world. (Applause.) I want to say to you that at the last meeting of Local Dayton, that matter was brought up there and was thoroughly discussed, and the members that attended that meeting were practically every one a man who carried a trade union card, and that they took action there instructing me as their representative to advocate the wiping out of all trade union propositions or resolutions or any other resolution that appealed to any particular part or branch of the working class to-day (applause). And I want to say that it is my candid opinion and my belief that the Socialist movement can further its interests best by ignoring all resolutions that come before this convention which have a tendency to recognize the trade union movement or any other particular part of the working class. (Applause.) I want to say, Mr. Chairman and Comrades, that there may have been a time in former ages when there was a greater necessity for the trade union movement to awaken the intellectual ability of the

working class of this country to the fact that they should organize for their own protection. I want to say that 25 or 30 years ago—or, yes, 15 years ago—we did not have the Socialist movement in this country to awaken the people to their real interests as we have to-day. I want to say, Comrade Chairman and Comrades, that the trade union movement in this country to-day, is too much, if I may so term it, of a spider web for the Socialist movement to take any part in it. I want to say that the Employers' Association to-day is organized as it has never been before. I want to say that it is my opinion that the trades union movement is going to have a harder row to hoe than it ever has in its history, and I believe that the opportunity is here for the Socialist movement to go forward as it has never done before. Remarks have been made by some of the Comrades who have spoken that the trade union movement will advance the immediate and material interests of the working class. I want to say that this convention is not here to deny to the workers of this country or the workers of the world the right to organize as trade unions. I believe that trade unionism will live, one way or the other, and I hope it will. As I say, I will remain a member of the organization of my craft so long as I am eligible to membership, but I want to say that my work in the Socialist movement has been hampered because of my activity in the trade union movement, and my efforts in the future shall be in the interest of Socialism because the trade union movement can never solve this problem definitely. It can never obtain a permanent settlement of the struggle that is now on. (Applause.) I want to say that the Socialist movement advocates a definite and permanent settlement, and for that I believe we ought to work first, last and always, and assist the other so far as we can, but that is all. I want to say to you that the labor union movement for the past few years has maintained a lobbying committee at Washington in the houses of congress to advocate that laws be passed in the interest of the working class, and then at election they will turn around and vote their enemies into office, and I say that that is wrong. I say that our duty is to awaken the workers to the fact that they can accomplish far more by

using the ballot than they can by the strike, the boycott or the union label. In relating a little past history of the trades union movement I might call your attention to the fate of the K. of L., an organization that once advocated noble principles and had power once numerically. That organization has practically sunk into oblivion, to the extent that there is practically nothing of it left but a history which it made in the early American labor movement. I would call your attention to the great strike at Homestead in 1892, when the iron workers were shot down in cold blood because they saw fit to march in a body on the public highways, and all the struggle and all the blood that was spilled in that great struggle, did not settle the trouble between capital and labor so far as the iron workers of the country were concerned. I want to say that the great strike of the A. R. U. which took place in 1894, when many men were forced to lay down their tools and quit their work in defense of their rights as trades unionists,—that with all the sacrifices that were made in that struggle, when one—as good a man as ever carried a union card—was forced to spend six months behind prison bars, that all that did not settle the trouble between capitalism and labor in the trade unions in the railroad industry. I want to say, when we come down a little further to the disaster in Idaho in 1898, when men were thrown by the hundreds into the bull-pen and treated with such contempt—which is in my opinion the blackest blot on American history—that all that sacrifice did not succeed in settling definitely the trouble between the miners of Idaho and the employers. I want to say that in 1900, in one of the manufacturing institutions of this country, perhaps one of the greatest in the world, the National Cash Register Works at Dayton, Ohio, a strike was declared by the metal polishers in that factory, and they succeeded in shutting down the entire plant for several weeks. That fight was continued for six or seven months with a good prospect of success as any strike that was ever declared in the history of organized labor. I want to say that that strike was fought with vim and vigor when the members of that organization were discharged, and it was fought successfully to a final conclusion and the institution was whipped to

a standstill, but when the settlement came it was arranged in such a way that nothing was conceded to the men, not even provision being made for the return of one of the trade unions who had gone on strike six or seven months previous; not one returned into that factory. I want to say that all these things will perhaps call your attention to the inability of the trade union movement to solve the problem that confronts the workers to-day. I believe that the proper thing for this convention here to do to-day, taking everything into consideration—I want to say that I do not want to see this convention divided; I want to see all factions leave this hall when this convention adjourns, united, and united in the cause of Socialism. (Applause.)

DELEGATE TOOLE (Md.): A point of order. It is now 11 o'clock.

THE CHAIRMAN: That motion was not carried.

Delegate Gaylord of Wisconsin raised the point of order that it being 11 o'clock, under the former motion no further discussion could be had, but the Chair ruled that the motion to that effect was not carried, and the discussion was continued.

Thereupon Delegate Gaylord offered the following resolution and moved its adoption as a substitute for the resolution as presented by the Committee:

"The Socialist Party of America recognizes that the trades union organizations are an essential part of the labor movement, and are absolutely necessary for the purpose of upholding the standard of living and resisting the encroachments of capitalism under the present economic system.

"We heartily commend them in their efforts to organize the working class for that purpose and declare that it is the duty of every Socialist who can do so to join his respective trades union."

A motion to table the above resolution was declared out of order as Delegate Gaylord had the floor.

DEL. GAYLORD: Now, we have heard various Comrades plead for peculiar things. One has asked that the intellectual should be ignored, or implied such a plea. Another

has asked that the trade unions should be ignored, a plea directly made by the speaker who just preceded me. Others, both on the floor and in groups on the outside, have advocated that the farmers be ignored. Others will say that unorganized labor also should be ignored, and possibly some other economic group should be ignored, and thus we secure the ignoring of the whole working class. Now, what do you want to do that for? Let us rise for a little while to a higher level, if we can, and get a view of the whole field. This substitute motion puts it before this convention as represented in various ways. We do not represent the whole of the working class in our proper persons here to-day, and that is the reason we do not expect to elect our candidates. There is a labor movement which for the present as an actual fact is bigger than the Socialist Party of America or the International Socialist Party. As a matter of fact, physically and materially on the principle of economic determinism we are not so big yet as the entire labor movement. Let us recognize that fact. If we do not, it will down us, and others will take our place. (Applause.) I mean ourselves—not the Socialist philosophy nor the Socialist movement. We are responsible in a sense for the great ideal which we are here to represent. We are responsible in a sense also to the ideal and fact of the labor movement as a whole. Let us get that clearly in our minds. What does this labor movement include? Who should be consciously represented in it or in a gathering trying to represent it? Elements every one of which are really represented here to-day, the economic group, the farmers of which has its representative on this floor—the intellectuals, the organized trade union movement, the farmers, the unorganized labor and, if you please, I daresay there may be one or two specimens of genus hobo, if some of us like myself were to be frank and admit it. I don't know where my home is. Now, then, let us look for a moment at the facts as we get the whole field in view. First, there is the Socialist Party. We will not be too modest and put ourselves first. We claim to be class conscious, we claim to be intelligent. That is what consciousness means. First of all, we know that we know ourselves,

and from that we get to know other things and get to know the sense of the whole situation. We, therefore, have a right, I think, to put ourselves first and most representative, as this body in the persons present proposes. Now then, there are other elements intervening. Next I put, in my opinion, the organized labor movement. At once we see sections in this—the sense of the movement, as I think we may well call it—to-day, the A. F. of L., and the great western movement, the A. L. U., and the other great local and state trade unions, some unaffiliated, some affiliated, locally but not nationally, some affiliated nationally and not internationally. Shall we here to-day, representing the most intelligent group of the working class, refuse to recognize the fact of this great labor movement? What do we gain by that? I do not plead for the recognition of any local union, I do not plead for the A. L. U. nor for the A. F. of L., although I carry a card in one of those. I plead for the recognition of the fact that economic groups exist within the labor movement next in intelligence, I believe as proved by their organization, to the Socialist Party. (Applause.) Do you want to lose what will be lost,—whatever it is, I am not discussing what it is—by ignoring that fact? What for? I say recognize it. Don't ignore it. Open your eyes. It is there, whether you like it or not it is there, and most of us really like it. (Applause.) I say recognize it, and point to it—you will not misunderstand me—with pride. I have been speaking of the organized labor. Now, there is the unorganized, and in this we may include at once, the intellectual groups of various sorts; they are not organized as such. They will be probably before a great while and that will then bring them into the organized field. Then there is the great mass of unskilled factory workers; next to that there is the great mass of common labor drifting here and there, the driftwood on our modern economic sea. After them—perhaps ahead of them, I should say—come the farmers. In the city I am closer to the other group than to the farmers, and I put them first, but perhaps the farmers should come next to the organized labor, though as an economic group they are not yet organized. If they were organized as an economic group I should

say, recognize them next to organized labor. But you need to recognize them. They are there and must be recognized in your working program. This is a survey of the whole field I am trying to give you for the purpose of getting down to business on this particular point.

Delegate Miller (Colo.) secured the eye of the Chair, and the Chairman asked:

"On what side do you speak?"

DEL. MILLER: I speak for the resolution submitted.

THE CHAIRMAN: I must hear from someone in opposition.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): A question of personal privilege. I want to introduce an amendment so it may be read before the delegate speaks.

DEL. MILLER: And read the substitute just offered along with it.

THE CHAIRMAN: The substitute offered by Comrade Gaylor and the amendment offered by Comrade Slobodin will be read.

DEL. SLOBODIN: This is the amendment to the substitute, and should take its place:

"Socialist political action first, and the labor movement next, are the main weapons to be used by the working class for the better life and of the capitalist class for greater profits. We consider it the duty of the Socialists to join the unions of their trades and to promote there the spirit of solidarity and identity of the interests of the entire working class. We recognize, however, that the main activity of the trade unions is confined within the narrow limits of the daily interests of their trades and industries.

"We call on the members of the trade unions who realize the fact of the class struggle which the working class is fiercely waging against the capitalist class for a larger share in the product of labor. While the trade unions are of great advantage to the working class in the struggle against the exploitation of labor, they cannot alone abolish this exploitation. The exploitation of labor will come to an end when the instrument of production will be owned by the entire people for the equal benefit of

all. Every trade unionist who realizes this should join the Socialist Party and assist in arousing the working class to political action, so that it may secure the powers of government, and, by abolishing wage slavery and establishing the co-operative common wealth, achieve its own emancipation."

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): A point of order. My point of order is that you cannot introduce a substitute of a substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: This is not a substitute of a substitute, but an amendment.

DEL. STEDMAN: A point of order. You cannot introduce an amendment of a substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken. The Secretary will read the substitute and the amendment to the substitute.

DEL. STEDMAN: The point of order is this, that you cannot amend a substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will state to Comrade Stedman that under the present condition of affairs, with a number of substitutes and amendments before the house, that I would entertain this amendment in order to attempt to secure the close of the debate. We will vote upon the question. Comrade Spears has the floor.

Delegate Phelan, of Illinois, moved that the amendment be laid on the table, but the motion was lost.

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: The statement has been made here that those opposing trade unions were naturally intellectual and non-unionists. I stand before you as a trade unionist, and as an intellectual. I also stand before you as a representative of both the two great trades unions, both the A. F. of L. and the A. L. U., and I stand opposed to all trades union resolutions in the Socialist movement, because I recognize this fact: That the trades union movement is the outcome of a development, just the same as the trust is the outcome of a development to-day. The economic development produced the trust on behalf of the capitalist; it also produced the trades union movement on behalf of the workmen. Trades unionism can

only be a reform, and we must recognize it as a reform in every sense of the word. Some reference has been made to the London resolution. In that resolution the conditions that may have met with approval by those who decided on those resolutions, coming from countries where conditions are different than here in America, may have had some force. But why should we take the conditions here and try to measure them with the half-bushel of the man from Germany or England? Some one referred to his experiences in trade unions. I have had experiences in trades unions. I know what it is to be up against a labor fakir in the Chair, backed up by all those who want to throttle any Socialist agitation in the trades union. Resolutions in trade unions, what are they worth? Not the paper they are written on, my friends. (Applause.) Concessions? What concessions have you got? You have got no concessions except what the capitalist may give out of fear, nothing else. One of the delegates has appealed to you with all the sentiment he could, and he referred to the South, and said that we had no movement in the South. My Comrade from the South tells me we should look to the South for a year or two. The reason they have no Socialist movement is they have not had any agitators there. Further, some one said our only hope was in the trades union movement. My friends, if that is our only hope we have got a dismal outlook for Socialism. (Applause.) I am a trades unionist for one purpose only: It is to my material interest. My material interest compels me to be a trades unionist if I want to eat. I belong to the typographical union, and my scale of wages has been increased \$12 a month. For 50 cents a week I get \$12 a month. It is a pretty good speculation. I grant you it is a good place, if you could do something there. I say to the men, "Join the union," every time I am "on the box," because it brings men together. When they are organized they are discontented. That is all I can see in it. They say it is one phase of the class struggle, and the next thing we know we will have other phases of the class struggle. Then my Comrade from Massachusetts called us non-unionists. He said we were non-unionists. He spoke of fellows who united in the trades union movement,

had seemed to think that the men who could not get into a trades union because the fee to get in was so high, that he never expected to see it accomplished. When you make it a \$250 fee, and the poor devil hasn't got a dollar in his pocket, how can he become a trades unionist? Then he spoke of the courage of the trades union Socialists. I have the courage to be a Socialist because I couldn't be anything else. He spoke of handing Karl Marx to him. I don't hand them Karl Marx because I don't know enough about it to do it. All I know is that I am a wage slave and that is all I can preach. All I know is capitalism puts me in a shop and compels me to work there day after day. I do not want to waste my energies in the trades unions when I can do far more by showing that we stand for the whole working class first and the union next.

At this point there were cries of "Time," and the Chairman said: "The speaker's time is not yet up, and he retains the floor for one minute more."

DEL. SPEARS: I venture to say that some of my Comrades from the smaller towns may think it is unusual for one from the city to be opposed to the unions. I have had some Comrades tell me what wonderful things you have done in the union. Maybe you have while you have some little control, but you little know what the fight is in the city. You little know what trade unions are doing in this city. No doubt they have honest men in the trade union in some places, and you may by a sort of a so-called honesty do something that time, but as a whole it is futile to tie ourselves up to the trade union movement. Let them fight their battles. And who are they? After we have assisted them in fighting the battle, who will get them? Mr. Hearst will come out and say he stands for the labor union movement, and he is quite anxious to have—

At this point, the gavel fell and Delegate Hanford secured recognition, stating that he desired to speak to the main question and in favor of the adoption of the trade union resolution.

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): Now, Mr. Chairman, and Comrades, with the single exception of possibly Comrade Gaylord of Wisconsin, I do not think

that the speakers have dealt at all adequately with this question. We seem to go on the basis that the so-called Socialist Labor Party of the past went on that the trade union is only for us to take or leave, or do what we please with it. We know perfectly well that the Socialist movement is not that kind of a movement. We go out and tell men and women that you have got to come to Socialism for your salvation, but why can't we understand that in the line intervening until the day when Socialism shall come to pass, a man has got to live in order to establish Socialism, and that the race has got to survive if there will be no race to enjoy Socialism (Applause.) The trades union movement deals with this question here and now. True, not for all, but for as many as it can and it is going to continue for many years, and I can tell you that had it not been for the force brought to bear by the trades union movement in resisting the encroachments of organized capitalism there would have been no working class to go into Socialism. (Applause.) Now, this did not come out of any great desire of the trades unionist to do a wonderful and wise thing. It came out of necessity. That is where the trade unions were born and so long as there is a necessity for them they will remain. Now, let us recognize that as a fundamental fact, and I doubt if anyone here can dispute it, and I know that it cannot be disputed. Now, let us see what the Socialist Party in this country did. Only a few years ago, they adopted and put into the resolutions which were unanimously adopted, substantially the same marks which were made by the eloquent Comrade of Illinois (Spears) and by several other Comrades here. They unanimously adopted a proposition to this: "This bogus trade unionism is impotent, petrified, motionless, holding the proletariat at the mercy of the capitalist class," and so on. There is a page of that resolution, and then at the bottom they said, "Let the Socialist watch words everywhere be, 'Down with trade unionism pure and simple.'" "Away with the labor fakirs," "Onward with the S. T. & L. A. and the S. L. P." And what became of the men that passed that resolution? (Cheers and Applause.) All there is left of the organization that passed that resolution is this little old

book. (Applause.) Now, it is a splendid thing for Comrades to get up here and talk about being a Socialist, first, a trade unionist next, and something else after that. I can tell you, Comrades, that wherever you work if it comes right down to the question—if it comes to that late to-night or to-morrow morning—to go on strikes to maintain a living wage, you can let one of two things happen, or you would be a "dead one." This question of trades union is not at all a question of whether you like it or dislike it. It is here, and don't you think for a minute that because of the Latinisms or the Hazletons that you will even put a brake on the wheel of progress of the trades union movement. Their very defects will make them stronger. Their defects in the last analysis will be found victories. Are you going out on the stump and tell these trade unions that because some particular organization is opposed by a labor fakir that its body is composed of labor fakirs? If you do that will you be allowed to talk to that organization on the line of educating them in Socialism? Not on your life. What you have got to do is to say this: "You know, the truth perfectly well, and that is, that in the trade union, men may be corrupt, officers may go wrong, but you do know that the real and file will not consciously go wrong except for one reason, and that is lack of light to see the right." When you have said that then you can put the light before them. This question is probably more important than any other question that we can settle here to-day. I want myself to be able, not only in the trades union but everywhere else, to take a position where any man who opposes me from the standpoint of the working class, I can throw a rock at him and knock his damn block off. (Applause.) That is where I want to be. And this trade union resolution, putting us upon that line, standing for the working class in the trade union and out of it, wherever that trade union is, I say again and I will repeat: The working class, right or wrong—I don't care whether they are right or wrong. (Applause.) You go on and talk about wage slavery and you are going on to show why you are slaves. Can you expect this man who has been under slavery for centuries, this man who has been constantly misused ever since he was taught to read,

can you expect him suddenly to get a bolt of light from heaven and proceed and never make a mistake? They have got to go up against these mistakes, and I will still concede that and still say, the organization that survives to-day, even though wrong, will be right to-morrow and still survive. (Applause.) Go all down the line in the history of this trade union movement and what do you find? They talk here, for instance, about trades unions passing resolutions of endorsement. I don't care a single cent for all the resolutions, so far as their passage is concerned, but I do care an immense amount about the discussion of those resolutions in these bodies. I am not trying to convert labor leaders. I am not trying to convert capitalism. I am trying to convert this common man at the bottom who has to pay the cost of everything, and out of whose heart-blood and sweat comes the penalty of all his errors. (Applause.) Do you think I say that that man has no interest in going wrong? His very life depends upon his going right, and all you need to get him to go right is two things: First, that he shall hear you with an open mind; and, second, that you know enough about the subject so that you can present to him in a way that he can understand. (Applause.) He will know the reason why the trades union movement in this country to-day is not where it should be, other than from natural and economic causes. The next great reason is in our deficiency. Our deficiency. We should have been school-masters talking to the five-year-old child, and leaning him his letters; and simply because we have gone to this child in the economic primer and, instead of teaching him his letters, we have tried to give him a volume of Karl Marx, and he didn't understand it. We say "You are a damn fool, and there is no use trying to do anything with you." Now, you people that have not had success with the trade union movement, let me tell you to do this thing, which I intend to do. I intend to look for the fool not so much in him as in myself—to teach him his letters, then words of one syllable and then I know he will learn to read, and when he does understand the subject, he will be with us because, as I said, his very life depends upon his coming with us. (Applause.)

A DELEGATE: I have got up a

doren times on this question, and I appeal to you I am entitled to be heard.

THE CHAIRMAN: The delegate will take his seat. Delegate Hayes, the Chairman of the Committee, asks to submit his supplementary report, and he has the floor.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): Mr. Chairman, and Delegates: This question has been discussed the greater part of yesterday afternoon and this forenoon, and the hour of noon is practically here. It is my opinion that practically every Delegate in this Hall has made up his mind how he is going to vote—

A DELEGATE: I thought you had a supplementary report?

DEL. HAYES: I intend to make it, but I want to explain it.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chairman of the Committee has a perfect right to make a statement why he is making a supplementary report, and order must be preserved.

DEL. HAYES: I say it is the desire of the Committee that this matter be brought to a vote as soon as possible; and for that reason we have again gone over the original proposition submitted and made some alterations which the Committee believes will meet with the views of the delegates here assembled, and I will read the resolution. Those of you who have copies of the original report may follow it and you will note that some things have been stricken out and others worded somewhat differently.

SUPPLEMENTARY REPORT OF TRADES UNION COMMITTEE.

"The trade and labor union movement is a natural result of the capitalist system of production and is necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is a weapon to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalist system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, but cannot abolish it. The exploitation of labor will only cease when the working class shall own all the means of production and distribution. To achieve this end the working class must consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they unite on the political as well as the industrial field on the lines of the class struggle.

The trade union struggle cannot attain lasting success without the political activity of the Socialist Party:

The workers must fortify and permanently secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the economic struggle. In accordance with the decision of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, this Convention reaffirms the declarations that the trade and labor unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to join with this movement.

Neither political nor other differences of opinion justify the division of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of the abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialist Principles."

Mr. Chairman, I offer this as a substitute or a correction for the original report of the Committee on trades unions.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Dingo of Missouri.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded—I will not speak until every delegate takes his seat. It is moved and seconded that the supplementary report of the Committee be adopted. One moment, before you proceed any further, I want to call attention to the fact that according to the agreement there were to be an equal number of speakers on each side. Now, since the five speakers on each side have spoken there have been three speakers for the trades union resolution and only two against, and I would consider it justice that another in opposition—(Cries of Delegates for recognition here interrupted the Chairman, who continued as follows): One moment. I will not proceed until the Delegates take their seats. And I would consider it just that another speaker in opposition be given the privilege of expressing his opinion. (Cries: "That is right, that is right!"). And in view of that, I will recognize the comrade from Montana, I believe. Aren't you opposed?

A DELEGATE (Mont.): I am in favor of the resolution.

Delegate Maurer of Pennsylvania was recognized by the Chair and stated that

he desired to speak in opposition to the resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is on the motion to adopt the supplementary report.

A delegate here asked if a roll call on the resolution would be permitted and the Chairman replied: "You will have time for that when the vote is reached."

DEL. MAURER (Penn.): Comrade Chairman, this is the first opportunity I have had to address this Convention. When I came here I made up my mind I was in the presence of what are commonly termed "spell-binders" and I was willing to give way here and let the "spell-binders"—

The speaker was here interrupted by the point of order that he was not speaking to the question, and he replied, "I wish to introduce my question."

THE CHAIRMAN: Let the speaker proceed, and he will come to the question if you give him a chance.

DEL. MAURER: I have come to the conclusion that it is necessary to take a different position than the smart element have taken. After listening to Comrade Carey and Comrade Hanford trying to bamboozle us, trying to make us believe that things are different from what they are, I find it impossible to remain sitting in my seat any longer. They forget they are talking to Socialists now. I want you to understand I am a neighbor of George Baer of subrathe fame. I came from Pennsylvania. I am a union man, at that, in good standing and have been in the union for the last twenty-four years. I want you to know that I have not been connected with the union in a paid capacity, but as a volunteer. After listening to some of the talk that I have heard upon this floor it arose in my mind that perhaps this was a business delegates' convention instead of a socialist convention. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: I must ask the speaker not to make reflecting remarks upon the convention.

DEL. MAURER: I do not intend to. I beg pardon if I do.

THE CHAIRMAN: He must confine himself to the question.

DEL. MAURER: Now then, the question has been raised here by some of those who favor union-

ism, they have claimed last night upon this platform, and this morning again, what the unions have done for the working class. They have pointed to the west, to the east and to the north. I want to tell you this: In the strike in Pennsylvania in the coal fields it was not the trades union movement that fought that fight alone. The Pennsylvania delegation that sits here to-day was represented in that fight, and won that victory, which the poor and simple considered a victory, but which Socialists know was not—it was not brought to that point by the trade unionists, but by the Socialists of the United States. (Applause.) You talk about the Socialists being against the trade unionists? Far from it. You try to convey the idea here that we are trying to fight the unions. I spoke to the plumbers in the City of Chicago the other night, and I am going to speak to another union to-night, and I want to have the honor of going back to my people, to my comrades, to my union men in Pennsylvania, and I want to be put on record as being against putting the Socialist Party in any light at all as a compromise with any other organization. (Applause.) It has been said that we are doing what the Socialist Labor Party did on this floor. Those insinuations have been cast out. I want you to distinctly understand the Socialist Labor Party antagonized trade unions. We do not antagonize trade unionists. (Applause.) I came from a union where 70 per cent of our members are Socialists, and when I joined there were only two Socialists in the union that I now affiliate with, and we didn't have to be the tail-end of organized labor to accomplish that. Far from it. Now, I said among our union men, and especially in the American Federation of Labor, that you dare not bring Socialism into the union. Keep Socialism out of the union, they tell us, it is bad for the union; and in Boston they boasted about how they took the sting out of the union movement. Now, it is necessarily follows in my opinion that if Socialism is bad in the union it is bad to bring unionism into the Socialist movement. (Applause.) Why, I am surprised at the tactics assumed by the opposition. That resolution as it stands there, I do not question that it is acceptable to most of us. I do not question that if it had stopped at that—but

what have you got back of that? If that is all you ask for I do not question but what that could be carried unanimously, but we suspect from the remarks here that that is not all you ask from this convention. You say we should fight for the union man. Where is there a Socialist in this convention who has not been doing that? You talk as if we were a lot of strike-breakers. I am surprised. These tactics, comrades, may go, as I said before, among unions—

THE CHAIRMAN: Your time is up.

DEL. MAURER: A half minute I have. In conclusion, let me say this: I do not stand here representing the unions. I stand here to represent the good cause of education in order to emancipate the proletariat of the whole civilized world, and not alone of the trade union. (Applause.)

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I am in favor of the resolution as reported by the committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: I want to state that I shall recognize no more speakers until a motion to put the question is made.

A delegate here moved the previous question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Berlyn has the floor.

DEL. BERLYN: Comrades, I am in favor of the resolution in its entirety. I am opposed to the proposition as made by one of the delegates from my state to strike out, and call attention to the fact that in the trades union organizations a diversity of political opinion exists, and must of necessity exist. If you go on a strike, you haven't got time to ask a man whether he is a democrat or republican. We need the trades unions in our business, and right here is the point. This resolution in its entirety protects us against slobbering over the trades unions. We recognize that all shades of political opinions go into the trades unions and we recognize that we cannot subordinate ourselves to them. That is the value of this resolution in its entirety. To strike this out would open the door again for some more Daniel DeLeon. (Applause.) The trades union cannot be organized on political lines. That is impossible, and I take pride that I never have and never will allow myself to be dragged

into any other kind of schisms in the trade union. The trades union people condemn it. Why, to deny this resolution would be simply to say that you are an ostrich—you put your head in the sand and you cannot see. Trades unions exist, and it is from compulsion arising from conditions that they do exist. If the comrades in this union cannot keep their trails clear and know what the true trade union policy is they had better learn. In Milwaukee and Portland they have been applying the trick of trucking to the trades unions, and what do they show? Nothing. In Milwaukee they never antagonize the trade union, and they don't allow the trade union to sit on their trail. They were with the boys in the fight every time, but they kept their own Socialist movement free. (Applause.) I remember two years ago when we were with the National Committee to St. Louis. We had a show. We made a dime museum show of the National Committee, and we were told that the entire central body of St. Louis were Socialists. We had a big meeting and we had some rag chewing there, and they cheered us to the door; and when the election results came in they did worse than at Chicago, by a long shot. Now that is the thing that we want to avoid, and the resolution in its entirety says that they are not Socialists, that all kinds of political opinions are present, and dictates the policy all over the country that we must not allow ourselves to be subjected to them. This amended resolution is a cipher if you pass it. I say that the injury done to the Socialist movement in the United States from the earliest day that I was in it has been the everlasting attempt to capture the leaders of the trades unions, and forgetting all about the rank and file. (Applause.) Then, on the other side, we have got a disgusting scene in our union when the question comes up of helping some other fellow, some of our so-called fellows make a speech which I cannot understand in any other way than putting the Socialists in the credit. There is no room for the soap box speech in the union. The only thing to preach is to show the efficiency of the economic struggle and tell them in the union we stand for Socialism put and simple. I say, keep politics out of

the union and if you don't you will have a trades union that will swamp you.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): May I ask a question? Is there a political organization to-day in the trades union?

DEL. BERLYN: No. There is in some trades unions. I will explain: I am a member of a trades union as long as most of you. I have held all kinds of positions and I am active to-day, and in those unions I have preached the class struggle until they begin to know where I stand. Anybody who has followed the union in this city has known that I have been active. We are making sound Socialists of the leaders. Let us stand by our philosophy. The moment a Socialist becomes a business agent or is materially interested and identified with a union, to that degree he becomes corrupted to the idea of capturing the leaders, and has been a detriment to the movement. Let the unions do their own business and let us not intrude upon their work.

Delegate Walsh of Montana secured the recognition of the Chair, and the Chair asked upon which side he wished to speak.

DEL. WALSH (Mont.): I desire to hold part of my time to Comrade Smith of Oregon.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Smith of Oregon has already spoken on the question.

DEL. WALSH: I desire to yield part of my time to anyone else. (Cries of "No, No, No.")

THE CHAIRMAN: If Comrade Walsh wishes to speak on the question he must speak now. There are only eight minutes and a half until adjournment.

DEL. WALSH (Mont.): It appears to me that we have got into a trades union proposition. We have a resolution here that has been introduced by the committee and I would feel like acting upon that resolution had it come from an organized body of labor, but I am opposed to that resolution or the Socialist Party taking any stand upon that proposition whatever. (Applause.) We were told last night by one of the speakers from the stage that we have been eating dust. We know we have, and if we continue the proposition, we will eat dust for five years longer. And

so we have got to organize upon Socialist principles. There is no misunderstanding of our point that we are opposed to trades unions. We are not opposed to trades union, but we are opposed to bringing the trades union into this Socialist convention. The comrade who just left the floor upon that proposition says that he does not believe in bringing politics into the unions. I do believe in it, and all our western people believe in bringing Socialism into the unions. What good is an opinion if we cannot teach our comrades the right way out of the wilderness? We have failed to do it in the Trades Council; we have failed to do it in the trades union. Then there must be some other way of providing for it, and that only way is the Socialist movement. It is a class movement. We have to-day scabs who are class conscious Socialists. I ask you what we are going to do with them? Are we going to stand up for the union man and say, "Down with the scab?" I ask you what we are going to do with Mitchell coming into the western country to raise trouble? I will tell you what we are going to do. We are going to drive him out of the country. That is what we are going to do. Now, we have got to organize upon the lines of Socialism and go along that line. Supposing that we had followed the Lynches, the Comperses and Mitchells; suppose we followed the preaching of the doctrine of Hanna, who said the union is a good thing. Suppose we followed that. What do we find we are fighting? They say themselves capitalists and this, and that and the other are fighting, not organized labor in Colorado, but anarchistic Socialism. That is what we are fighting. Then after capital has disrupted organized labor, as they attempted to disrupt the typographical union in the Miller case, I ask you, if the majority is on the other side, who is the Socialist Party going to preach class struggle to?

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): A point of information: The information I desire to get from the Chair is whether before the question is closed, or at what time, I may submit an amendment to the main resolution?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not this morning, Comrade Spargo. We have enough resolutions, substitutes, amend-

ments and supplementary reports to cover the question in every form.

DEL. SPARGO: No, Comrade Chairman, there is one point which has been raised which in my opinion is the most important point of all, and that has not been touched by any motion that I have heard read in this convention.

At this point Delegate Berger secured recognition and the Chair stated that there were left four minutes before the hour for adjournment.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: I came from a city where we have a labor movement with two arms—a Socialist arm and a trade union arm. (Applause.) And this is the only kind of a labor movement that will succeed in this country or any other modern country. In Milwaukee, the Socialist Party—the Social Democrat Party it is called in our state—has received in it about 15,000 or 16,000 trade union men. It was a regular class vote. The capitalist papers before election claimed that if Victor Berger was elected the trades unions would run amuck in Milwaukee and that the poor manufacturers would have to close out their factories and move away—probably to Chicago, Ill.—I don't know where.

A DELEGATE (Ill.): We'll take care of them.

THE CHAIRMAN: Don't interrupt the speaker.

DEL. BERGER: Comrades, I will say this, that the trade union movement is fully as important as the Socialist movement at the present time. (Cries of "No" and hisses.) I will just point to the difference. Look at the labor movement and the Socialist movement in England, and look at the Socialist movement in Germany. In England, they have a one-arm movement and there it is similar to the conditions here, it is crippled. In Germany and in

France you have the two-arm movement, right and left. And look at our labor movement in America. Outside of Milwaukee, in America, the labor movement is also one-armed because the Socialist Party does not count much outside of a few places. Now, our idea is to have the two-arm movement, and this can only be done in the following way, in carrying resolutions here and there, but in getting the membership. It can only be done by a personal union of the Socialist Party and the trades union. By a personal union I mean that the same people who are active in the trades union are also active in the Socialist Party, and that is the case in my home town. If you go in the Central Committee of the Social Democrat Party with a few exceptions you see about the same faces as you see in the Trades Council.

THE CHAIRMAN: One minute more, comrade.

DEL. BERGER: Then I will get the rest of the time afterwards?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. BERGER: I have only one minute more, and I will take my time afterwards. I say it would be simply criminal for the Socialist Party not to recognize—not only criminal, but suicidal—if you do not recognize the people who are fighting the class struggle every day of the year. We claim to be the political party of the class conscious. Now the trades union man is fighting the class struggle every day of the year—every time the labor union tries to make a contract or a wage scale with the employer. How can we afford to turn the trades union down without committing suicide?

THE CHAIRMAN: The hour for adjournment has arrived, and the convention will stand adjourned for the noon recess, and Comrade Berger will have the remainder of his time when we re-assemble.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): Mr. Chairman and Comrades: I said before lunch that the economic movement of the labor class is co-ordinate to the political movement of the labor class, and that you cannot neglect one without

crippling the movement, the entire movement. I will say, further, that owing to the attitude towards the trades union movement of the Socialist Party, owing to our attitude there are Socialists and delegates on the floor here today who would never have become Socialists if it had not been for the attitude we have taken. It has been agitated here that the trades unions have no right to speak for the men who are not organized. Now one of the comrades gave me a very good point on that. He said, "If two million or a million and a half men organized in the trades unions have no right to speak for the unorganized men, what right do we twenty-three thousand organized men have to speak for the entire laboring class?" I want to ask you that. I think that is a very good point, a very good point, indeed. If one million a half organized men have no right to speak for those that are not organized, what right do we twenty-three thousand have to speak for the entire laboring class? We have the right and they have the right. Now, comrades, I have promised to give part of my time to Comrade Titus of Washington, just to please one of my Chicago friends, and I would like the Chairman to be kind enough to give him part of my time.

THE CHAIRMAN: Has Delegate Titus had the floor before on this question?

DEL. BERGER: No, he has not.

THE CHAIRMAN: Well, Delegate Titus has three minutes then. Come forward. (Applause.)

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): I belong to most of the professions, I suppose, so most of them being on the other side, why I can take the opposite with good effect. I only want to make two or three points, and I will be through in three minutes.

I have been listening here to this discussion and the people who are opposed to this trades union resolution strike me as being utterly impractical in their arguments. (Applause.) I want to ask you what would happen to the laboring man if there were no trades unions, and one of the speakers from Chicago answered it this morning. He said, "If I wasn't in a trades union I would be getting six dollars and a quarter less a week than I get now, and I think it a good investment to pay twenty-five cents

a week to get six dollars and a quarter back." (Laughter.) Now it is a fact that the motto under present conditions, under capitalism, must be, "Get all you can." (Applause.) This impracticable suggestion that you don't want any trades unions to get what you can is wholly in line with these people who are opposed to any program. (Applause.) They would strike down trades unions, strike down everything that gets us anything and reduce the whole class to the level of the coolies in the far East. We do not want that; we want the best we can get under these conditions. They say, however, the worse off you make the working class the better it is for them. Now, I want to disassociate myself entirely and absolutely from the impossibilists. (Applause.) Not that I disassociate myself thereby from those who stand for the strictest Marxian program. (Applause.) But I believe in getting what you can under present conditions before seeking to abolish the whole thing. One other point and I have done. The main reason for our going in with the labor unions is not to make them political bodies, we don't want any politics in labor unions, not at all. (Applause.)—but the main reason for going into the labor unions is to educate them for Socialism. (Applause.) Right now when Samuel Gompers is in league with the Civic Federation to capture some two million or three million wage-workers who are organized for capitalist alliance, to work for capitalism, in alliance with it to defeat the rest of the working class by means of organized labor—when capital is trying to capture organized labor, let us bring a counter stroke. The most strategic move for us to take is to go into unions as individuals and educate them so they are not captured by capital. (Applause.) Nothing but the education of the working class will accomplish that. (Applause.)

DEL. ROBINSON (Ky.): I move the previous question.

Motion seconded.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I rise to a point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is your point?

DEL. SPARGO: Whether the amendment which I have already handed in will be read now or whether it will

AFTERNOON SESSION

Chairman Mally called the meeting to order at one forty-five p. m., and immediately recognized Delegate Berger, who had still six minutes left from the ten minutes allotted him in which to speak upon the trades union resolution.

be in order after the previous question has been moved?

THE CHAIRMAN: I shall have to put the previous question.

The previous question was then put to a viva voce vote, and the result of the vote being doubtful, a rising vote was taken and the motion declared carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now recurs upon the adoption of the supplementary report of the committee. There will now be one speech on each side, three minutes apiece.

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): I rise to speak in favor of the supplementary report of the committee. You will notice that it is not only a declaration in favor of trades unionists, but it is also a distinct and specific declaration that labor unions should be educated in Socialistic principles, and it is a specific declaration on the issues that are facing us to-day. It seems to me, Mr. Chairman and delegates, that we have had any number of resolutions passed in times past, but whenever we have come to the practical issue, we will find that there has been no expression of that party's will on one side or the other side of the question. If we are to be for trades unionism, vote for this report, but if we are to be against them, vote down the supplementary report.

DEL. O'MALLEY (Mont.): If I am on the opposition side it is not because I am opposed to a declaration in favor of or against trades unionism, but because I am opposed to that which has been sedulously kept in the background this morning and last night. I am opposed to the kind of declaration we have here, which a portion of the party, backed by long training, long parliamentary training, is endeavoring to ram down the throats of this convention. I had hoped that those of the Socialist Party who are following the delectable occupation of attempting to force this thing through would at least have had the manhood to have arisen upon this matter and stated their position, and not attempted to hide behind the trades union movement as a general proposition, in endeavoring to force through this organization a specious endorsement of one kind of unionism. I want to say to this convention that if, by the adoption of this resolution, they say to the workmen of the west that they

should abandon their industrial organization to go into a combination which at best is nothing more than playing into the hands of the capitalists, strongly urge the western men to use a little bit of profanity and to tell this convention to go to hell. (Loud applause.) I want to say, Mr. Chairman and comrades, that conditions in the western world to-day are not as they were twenty-five years ago. The growth of capitalism has put an entirely different phase on the matter. One of the delegates made the remark here to day or yesterday that there were sixty-four divisions of the shoe trade, and I want to say that if trades unionism was carried to its logical conclusion in the industrial plant in my city, we would have sixty-four separate and distinct organizations in the shoe industry, then every one of them fighting their battle separately and going on strike one at a time, and being crushed one at a time. But, standing together as we do, the jury of one is the concern of all and through that union we hold our strength and gain our battles. (Loud applause.)

Comrades, the point involved in the resolution before this body is this: Will you by your vote to-day say that we desire to turn the working class, bound hand and foot, over to those who have been unable to accomplish anything, and to defend our action because the hand by which they tie them bears the label of the trade union?

THE CHAIRMAN: The time has expired and the question now reverts to the adoption of the supplementary report of the committee.

DEL. HAYES (O.): Point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have recognized Comrade Gaylor.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I want to say that the substitute submitted by me is withdrawn. It was withdrawn before, as I understand it.

THE CHAIRMAN: It was withdrawn. For what purpose do you rise? DEL. CAREY (Mass.): I rise for the purpose of asking the convention if they will permit me to make a suggestion that will hasten the solution of this matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is it the pleasure of the convention? (Cries of "No.") There is objection, and the

question reverts to the supplementary report.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): Point of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: State your point.

DEL. SLOBODIN: Does the supplementary report take the place of the original?

THE CHAIRMAN: The supplementary report is withdrawn.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): The supplementary report is not withdrawn.

THE CHAIRMAN: Oh, no, I should have said the substitute of Comrade Gaylor is withdrawn. The supplementary report takes the place of the original report.

DEL. SLOBODIN: My substitute comes first.

THE CHAIRMAN: No. The question comes upon the supplementary report. All those in favor will manifest or by saying aye.

A great many delegates endeavored to obtain recognition, many of them using points of order.

DEL. SMITH (Ore.): I ask for a point of information.

DEL. PARKS: I rise to a point of order.

At this point there were loud cries for roll call.

DEL. LUCAS (Minn.): I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will recognize no one until order is restored. Comrade Lucas will take his seat. Now, then, I will recognize the delegates one at a time.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): Comrade Chairman.

THE CHAIRMAN: For what purpose do you rise?

DEL. STEDMAN: I rise to make a motion that we have a roll call on this.

Motion seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that there be a roll call upon the adoption of the supplementary report. Are you ready for the question?

The question was called for, and the motion being put, it was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion is adopted.

DEL. PARKS: Point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Parks will take his seat.

DEL. PARKS: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Parks will take his seat. I shall not recognize any one on any question but the secretary on the roll call.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Point of order.

DEL. PARKS: I have risen to a point of order; that is always in order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Let me state that I will not recognize any one on any question except the secretary on the roll call.

DEL. PARKS: You will have to recognize a point of order.

A DELEGATE: What I want to know is, what we are going to vote on.

DEL. PARKS: We don't know what we are voting on. I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Parks of Kansas will take his seat.

DEL. PARKS: Let me state my point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Parks will take his seat. The secretary will read—and if you had been calm I would have done this before—the secretary will read the supplementary report and we will then proceed with the roll call, and nobody need get excited. The previous question has been called for.

DEL. SPARGO: I rise to a point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Spargo will take his seat. (Loud applause.) The secretary will proceed with the reading of the supplementary report.

The secretary then read the Trades Union resolution as finally returned by the committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now one moment; before the roll is called I want to call attention to the fact that there may be omissions on the roll call. The roll call was printed, I believe, before one or two of the delegates—the last delegates—took their seats, so that if there are any omissions you will understand that it is not our fault. Also, I think it would be much better and the secretaries will be able to follow much better if each delegate will rise when he votes so that the delegates can both see and hear him.

DEL. MILLER (Col.): I rise to make a motion in regard to procedure.

THE CHAIRMAN: No motion is in order at this time.

ROLL CALL ON TRADES UNION RESOLUTION.

The roll call was then had, the delegates answering as follows:

Yes:—ALA, Waldhorst; CAL., Cobb, Deutzman, Wilkins, M. W., McKee, Richardson, Wilson, Woodbey; COL., Flaton, Hazlett, Miller, Southworth; CONN., Mahoney, Toomey; IDAHO, Ault; ILL., Berylin, Breckon, Brower, Carr, Collins, Morgan, Smith, Simons, Stedman; IND., Hollenberg, Oneal, Reynolds; IOWA, Johnson; KAN., Cogswell, Wall; KY., Nagel, Robinson, Markert; MASS., Carey, Brandt, Kelley, Keown, Hamman, Outram; White; MICH., Lamb, Menton; MISS., Rose; MINN., Bratland, Gilbertson, Holman, Lucas; MO., Behrens, Brandt, Dinno, Hoehn, Lipscomb, Raible, Rathbun; NEB., Clark, Mailly; N. H., Murray; N. J., Burrowes, Kronenberg, Oswald, Ufert, Kelly, Rubinow, Strobl; N. Y., Ackison, DeLoach, DeLabs, Ehert, Flanagan, Gerber, Hanford, Herron, Hillquit, Jonas, Lee, Dressler, Sieverman, Slobodin, Spargo, Wegener, Wessling; OHIO, Bandlow, Bickett, Goss, Hayes, Stanton; OKLA., Hayes, Snyder; PA., Barnes, Goazion; S. D., Knowles; WASH., Titus; WIS., Berger, Born, Young, Gaylord, Hunger, Spence, Cross, Thomas.

No:—ARK, Lefever, Penrose; CAL., Robbins, Keller, Patton, Weaver, Wilkins, Bertha; IND. TER, Whitelatch; ILL., Phelan, Smith, Utemarian; IND., Barrett, Debs; IOWA, Bennett, Jacobson, Work; KAN., Pugh, Smith; LA., Putnam; MD., Toole, Young; MASS., Gibbs; MICH., Benessi; MINN., Bosky, Ford; MONT., McHugh, O'Malley, Walsh, Hirt; NEB., Hyland, Hawkins; N. J., Glanz; OHIO, Farrell, Webster; OKLA., Kolachney, Loudermilk, Krawinkel, Q. P., Smith; PA., Ayres, Bacon, Heydrick, Gagliardi, Maurer, Ringler, Moore; S. D., Potter; TENN., Stockell; TEXAS, Kerrigan, Langworthy, Latham; WASH., Lund.

Not voting:—Mills, Kan.; McGrady, Ky.; Littlefield, Mass.; Leonard, Minn.; Turner and Garver, Mo.; Zorn and Wiley, Ohio; Forbes, Pa.

DEL. CURTIS (N. Y.): I record my vote in the affirmative.

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): The Illinois alternates have to be added yet.

THE CHAIRMAN: Who are they?
DEL. SPEARS: Newman in place of Block.

A DELEGATE: No, in place of McEachern.

DEL. MORGAN (Ill.): The Chairman of the Committee on Credentials I think, will be able to inform you that the substitute of Comrade McEachern was Comrade Newman.

DELEGATES: No.
DEL. MORGAN: It was arranged with the Committee on Credentials, and there are no more substitutes. The convention elected no substitutes.

A DELEGATE: That makes it complicated.

THE CHAIRMAN: No; there are only two, and there will be no one else.
DEL. MORGAN: I protest against recording the vote of a substitute who has not been recognized by the Committee on Credentials.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is it not true that Spears and Newman are alternates?

DEL. MORGAN: It is not true.

DEL. SPEARS: The chairman of the Committee on Credentials informed me that I was a member.

DEL. LEE: Comrade Newman was the first alternate. As far as the Committee on Credentials were concerned, there were more, but I cannot at this moment say how many alternates' credentials were received. There were either three or four, to the best of my memory, Comrade Newman's name coming first.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, we will proceed. Newman voted in the affirmative and Spears in the negative.

DEL. PALMER (Mo.): I have not a vote yet.

DEL. OTT (Wyo.): My name has not been called. I vote yes.

DEL. TOOLE: No; he votes no.

DEL. SEIDEL (Wis.): I vote yes for the regular delegate.

DEL. HEATH (Wis.): I vote yes.

DEL. OTT: I voted yes for the purpose of moving you that we reconsider this vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: I shall not consider that motion now.

DEL. OTT: Let me explain my position, that is all.

THE CHAIRMAN: I cannot consider your motion.

DEL. OTT: I am not making it in this time.

THE CHAIRMAN: What are you doing?

DEL. OTT: I wish to explain my position.

THE CHAIRMAN: Pending the result of the vote being announced, I shall proceed.

DEL. PATTON (Cal.): I move that the secretary read over the names of those that have voted, before we finish the count.

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not think that is necessary.

DEL. PATTON: Will we now have a chance to record our votes upon the Slobodin substitute?

THE CHAIRMAN: It depends upon the result of the vote upon the supplementary report.

DEL. PARKS: I protest against having to vote on this supplementary report first. We should have voted on the substitute first.

THE CHAIRMAN: Take your seat. I think everybody is satisfied with the way the vote has been put and taken. If you will wait a few minutes you will have the result, while I attend to a little official business. Comrade Ford, how do you vote?

DEL. FORD (Minn.): No.

SECRETARY DOBBS: The secretary is ready to announce the vote. The vote resulted: Yes, 107; no, 52. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now comes on the regular order of business.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): What becomes of my motion?

THE CHAIRMAN: I asked you to write it out and leave it at the desk.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I move to suspend the regular order of business and receive the report of the Platform Committee.

Seconded.

The motion to suspend and receive the committee's report was put and carried.

Before receiving the report, Delegate Spargo, of the Resolutions Committee, made the following statement:

DEL. SPARGO: I desire to call attention to a change in the resolution, for the sake of accuracy. The fact is, there is no such body as the International Socialist Congress, and we have to bear that in mind. The International Socialist Congress is an International Socialist and Trade Union Congress, and it makes the resolution incorrect in

so far as it indicates that the Socialists and Trade Unionists act together. I move that correction be made.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will request that that correction be deferred until it comes to the order of election of delegates. That is the report of the Committee on Platform.

DEL. SPARGO: I mean that in that motion as already adopted, the words "and trade union" ought to be inserted before "congress" for the sake of accuracy.

Motion seconded and carried.

Report of the Committee on Platform

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Herron, chairman of the Committee on Platform, will submit the report from that committee. This is an important matter, the adoption of the platform and delegates will please preserve order and keep their seats.

DEL. HERRON: I wish to state that on account of the lateness of the hour at which we finished this document last night, in order to have it in the hands of the printer, there was no time to read proof. There will be one or two incidental typographical errors in the way of punctuation and so on, and one line which I will call attention to which should be left out. I would like to say that this platform which we present to you is the unanimous report of the committee, even, I think, unto the least particular. Our effort has been to present a platform that shall be in one sense the appeal of this convention to the American people. We have embodied in this substantially everything there is in the historic Socialist platform, and yet have attempted to make a platform that would be in the terms of American political life and discussion.

Chairman Herron of the committee then read the report as follows, the reading beginning at 2:33 p. m. and ending at 2:48 p. m.:

I.

The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, makes its appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and

principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new, and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to destroy the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself, or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths

upon which our institutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depend. It comes to free the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition. Industry and finance are no longer national but international, in both organization and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotism which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of controlling capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The socialist movement, therefore, is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interests between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, for its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two classes; and from it have sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society

based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the socialist movement comes as the only conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations into the socialist movement. The socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first thing that the mind of man has ever been directed toward—the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall be by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tool of unemployment shall be sold to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit

shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together; and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pleads for us to watch and work, in both the economic and the political struggle, for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and the improvement of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage of men and women, municipal home rule, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist, and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the one great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may

thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the socialist party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of that economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

At the conclusion of the reading of the platform, there was long-continued applause.

Delegate Herron called attention to certain words which should have been omitted from the printed copies of the platform which were in the hands of the delegates while the report was being read.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the report of the Committee on Platform. What is your pleasure?

DEL. NAGEL (Ky.): I move its adoption.

DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): I move to accept it as read, without any further discussion. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the report be accepted as read.

Question called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will not presume not to give the privilege of the floor to any delegate.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): I have a motion; you may vote it down, and probably will. But, nevertheless, there are certain sentences in this platform which I do not believe ought to be put in a

Nationalist platform. One in particular is this appeal in the last paragraph, "To this end we appeal to all the workers of America"; it is to what follows that I object: "and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the Socialist Party." I maintain that if there are persons outside of the working class who are willing to come in and work with the working class and to stand absolutely on the working class platform, they are welcome and we want them as workers, but I do object to making any appeal on any ethical or other consideration to any person not belonging to the working class, in a Socialist platform. (Applause.)

There was no second to Delegate Taft's motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that the report of the Committee on Platform be accepted and the platform adopted.

Question called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: All those in favor of that motion will signify it by saying aye. Contrary, no. The report of the Committee on Platform is adopted. (Applause.)

Nominations

THE CHAIRMAN: The next thing in order is—
DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): Nominations for President.

THE CHAIRMAN: One moment.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): The Committee on Program is ready.

THE CHAIRMAN: Referring to the regular order of business, the next thing in order is the report of the Committee on Municipal Program.
DEL. HILQUIST: Inasmuch as we passed the nominations for President and Vice-President until the platform was adopted, nominations are now in order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair was in error. We took up the report of the Committee on Platform under a suspension of the rules. The next thing in order, therefore, reverting to the original order of business, now that the report of the Committee on Platform has been received and adopted, will be to proceed to the nomination of a candi-

date for President. (Applause.) Nominations are in order. Delegate Herron of New York.

HERRON NOMINATES EUGENE V. DEBS FOR PRESIDENT. "

DEL. HERRON: Mr. Chairman and Comrades of the Convention: In rising to make what I believe will be the unanimous nomination of this convention, I would like to preface that nomination with a statement of what has come to me in watching the proceedings of this convention, and in watching the general development of the Socialist movement for the two years since our Indianapolis convention. I think I shall go away from this convention very much of an optimist concerning the future of the working class of America. There are great struggles before us, or before us, of those of you who are in the ranks of labor, than perhaps we know. Here in America, the conditions of labor on the one side, and of capital on the other side, are intensifying with a rapidity and sharpness that no Socialist economist would have prophesied twenty or thirty years ago. More than in any other nations of the world the lines of economic conflict, the lines of definition between the working class and the capitalist or possessing class, are being clearly drawn, and drawn by the experience of the working class itself; and I have no doubt that this is not the great place for prophecy, but what the great international or world catastrophe—if it is to be a catastrophe—of the capitalist system will be precipitated here in America. (Applause.) I have no doubt but what, in the spread of the commonwealth of labor around the world, that the sum of that Co-operative Commonwealth will rise here on the American continent, and in this republic. (Applause.) And, therefore, it has seemed to me more urgent than anything else that the working class of America should become conscious not only of its struggle, but of its opportunity, of its class, but of its opportunity. There is a sense in which we might say what Marx once said to the workers in the International at Brussels, and say it with more truth, that the destinies of the workers of the world, for perhaps the next two or three centuries to come, are pivoted upon the solidarity and the intelligence and the character

of the organization of labor here in America. (Applause.) And it has seemed to me, therefore, important that here, above almost every other country, the working class, with the pressure of the struggle upon it, and with the preceding advantages of the public school, such as they were,—that the working class here in America is better prepared than perhaps in any other nation to work out its own salvation and its own destiny. For, in the end, the workers of the world will never be free until they free themselves by their own united action. (Applause.) No matter what others who may gladly give themselves to the workers' struggle may do, in the end, all freedom and all good that is handed down by one class unto another class historically has proven destructive. In the struggle of the Paris Commune, in the struggle of the Lords in early England, with their ideals of a certain sort of Social Democracy, and in all history, the subject peoples have maintained a positive gain or a positive freedom wherever they have gained that freedom for themselves; and whenever they have lost, and whenever they have been betrayed, it has been because their cause was committed to other hands than their own. (Applause.)

Now, I say that the proceedings of this convention and the development of the Socialist movement within the last two or three years, have given me a feeling of infinite relief, especially since I have been here. I feel that the heart and the brain of the working class are sound. I feel that the working class can be trusted in America to work out its own destiny. (Applause.) I feel that it will keep faith with its opportunity and its responsibility for the emancipation of the workers of the world. I am sure that in the intensifying struggle that will bring upon us, the next four or five years, things of which we do not now dream, that may try men's souls and bodies and faith, try the whole manhood of men as possibly men were never tried in human history—I feel that when that crisis or that day of judgment comes, the working class Socialist movement of America will be as great as its cause, and that it will rise up to match its opportunity. (Applause.)

Now, there is no man in America who more surely and faithfully incar-

nates the heart-ache and the protest and the struggle of labor for its emancipation, or more surely voices that struggle, than Eugene V. Debs. (Great applause.) And, Mr. Chairman and Comrades of the convention, I count it as among the great joys of my life—I do not say hours, because I have done with them long ago (applause)—I count it among the great joys and opportunities of my life to stand before you to-day and nominate Eugene V. Debs as the candidate of the Socialist Party of the United States for President in our coming national campaign. (Prolonged applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Carey of Massachusetts.

CAREY SECONDS THE NOMINATION OF DEBS.
DEL. CAREY: Mr. Chairman: I am a representative of the working class—a class that has aroused themselves to the point where they make expression of protest against their masters, and during that protest between themselves, and between those of us that are in immediate conflict with our masters day after day, there come divisions between us, and sometimes, one of us who is making protests against our masters in a certain unscientific fashion may differ with a certain other one. But this is the issue. The issue is that every time we protest against our masters, we stand with those who in the last analysis stand for our class. (Applause.)

And whatever may be the difference between myself and anybody else in certain immediate struggles, whatever may be the differences, the ultimate means by which we of the trades union movement judge a man is not because he tells us he loves us, but, because he has proven that he has stood with us in the hour when we needed him. (Applause.)

I am here to second the nomination of my Comrade, Herron, and I am here to warn the convention against criticisms that may be born out of the unhappy discussion on the trades union movement that we have just passed through, but to tell you—and I think I can speak for any trades unionist here (Is there any who would object to that?)—that my Comrade, Debs, represents us in the trades union movement of this country (applause); that he has gone down to death because he dared in the struggle of my class, in the at-

tempt of my class to protect themselves against a degradation that would rob them of the power to express themselves, and dared to defend us. (Applause.) And whatever may be urged against him by the capitalist press or their satellites, I remember that my Comrade Debs, in the hour when my class were at the point of absolute extinction, that he stood with us and chose the silence of the jail rather than prostitute himself against us. (Applause.)

I tell this convention again that through all of the unhappy efforts of the Socialists, and of that particular portion of the Socialists who have had unhappy experiences, as I have had them, in that struggle, there is this name that the working class conjure by. No, that this man is an angel—not that he can read the palm of your hand and tell you whether you are going to be president or not. No. Not that he understands the transformation of value into active capital—although he does; but because my Comrade, Debs, in the issue between the working class and the capitalist class stood in the breach when it cost something to stand there. (Applause.) And I care not what else you may do, I care not what else you may say, I care not for the "scientific analysis of the unity of the multiplicities" (laughter), but I tell you this, that in a working class who peer through the grim windows of a factory, or in the darkness of the mine, or upon the thundering railroads that carry them to death too often, there is one name that brings a thrill of hope to the working class, wherever they may be, whatever may be the trade union they belong to, and that name is the name of Eugene V. Debs, of Indiana. (Cheers and continued applause.)

DEL. M. W. WILKINS (Cal.): I know that I voice the sentiment of the Socialist Party of the Pacific Coast when I say I count it a joy and an honor to second the nomination of Eugene V. Debs for President of the United States. (Applause.)

THE CHAIRMAN: You have heard the nomination of Comrade Eugene V. Debs for President of the United States.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I move that the nominations be closed, and that Eugene V. Debs be declared the nominee of the Socialist Party for President of the United States.

EUGENE V. DEBS NOMINATED UNANIMOUSLY FOR PRESIDENT.

The motion was seconded from all parts of the hall, and amid the cheers of the delegates the vote was taken declaring Eugene V. Debs the candidate of the Socialist Party of America as President of the United States. The Chair appointed Delegates Hillquit (N. Y.), Hayes (Ohio), Berger (Mo.), Stedman (Ill.), Will (Kan.), Florenti (Colo.), and Titus (Wash.), as a committee to escort Comrade Debs to the platform.

THE CHAIRMAN: Pending the arrival of Comrade Debs we will proceed, as our time is limited. We will proceed with the next order of business, which is the nomination of a candidate for Vice President. Comrade Titus of Washington has the floor.

TITUS NOMINATES HANFORD FOR VICE-PRESIDENT.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): Comrades, I think every member of this convention feels it the highest honor of his life as he finds himself a part of the Socialist movement that speaks its first word in this campaign in this hall to-day. We have all heard the words of Comrade Herron nominating Comrade Debs, and we have felt the thrill when he spoke concerning the class struggle and all that it means for the great class that we represent to-day, and we are proud of our candidate for President. There is one thing on which I believe this convention of the Socialist Party of America should be fully agreed, and it is something that has been felt throughout this convention since Sunday morning. Some of us have thought we were slow. Some of our capitalist critics have thought we were incapable, but there is one thing that we have done representing the working class—we have worked freely together, we have expressed our minds, and we have come to a common mind. This is the only place where such freedom is possible on the American continent in a political convention. (Applause.)

Now, Comrades, we have made no mistake thus far. We have felt and I think every member here feels the increasing consciousness of membership in a great movement of the world. I think we begin to thrill with a common consciousness of a common destiny and with the highest mission that has ever been committed to any class in the

world—its own emancipation and that of the rest of humanity with it. (Applause.)

There is a sort of inevitableness about the movement with which we are connected. It is not merely the equanimity of minds; that can be had in any common organization. It is not merely a unanimity of interests; that can be had in many. But there is the unanimity of consciousness of a common destiny impelled by powers that move evolution onward that has been expressed in our platform. The more you read it the more you will discover that it has in it all that preceding platforms of this party has had, and more, and all that the German, French or English Socialist platforms have contained, and more, concerning the growth and progress of the human race toward a higher destiny.

We are taking part in self-conscious action toward the guidance of the powers of evolution. We may go to destruction; this party may go to destruction if you fail in wisdom, if you fail in discernment of the economic causes that underlie this evolutionary movement. As we become instructed, as we are true to the knowledge that is conveyed to us by the great mass of the science of sociology, the science of Socialism, as we are true to those we shall succeed and not fail.

Now, Comrades, these remarks are preliminary to the nomination of a candidate for Vice President. I have heard it mentioned on the floor of this convention, and before, that some man or men, some choice among those who were not members of the working class, should be placed upon our ticket. I enter a most emphatic protest against nominating upon our ticket any man who is not a true representative of that class that holds the destiny of the world in its hands. (Applause.) We are in the formative period. Our party, I had almost said, was not yet fully integrated. I believe it would be a mistake to say that. Perhaps one week ago we might have said it truly, but no man could have attended this convention without becoming convinced that this is a party truly integrated, truly unified. It cannot be destroyed unless it makes some stupendous blunder. (Applause.) We have a working man's convention. Every issue that has been presented here has been decided in the interests of the working class. We have a working-man's platform, and we have a working-man at the head of our ticket (applause), and I propose another repre-

sentative workman to be associated with Eugene V. Debs. I propose the name of a man who is known from one end of the Socialist world to the other, who has long been associated with the triumphs of Socialism and the struggles of Socialism; who has suffered for Socialism, suffered for what he believes to be the interests of his own class; a man not of the west, to which I belong, but a man of the Atlantic coast, and I hope this nomination will be made as spontaneous as that of the head of the ticket. I present the name of Ben Hanford, of New York. (Cheers and continued applause.)

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): In behalf of the State of Wisconsin, or in behalf of the party of Wisconsin, which is at almost entirely made up of the proletariat—we have very few preachers, very few lawyers, and still fewer judges and other prominent people in our ranks—in behalf of the working men associated in the Socialist Party, I rise to second the nomination of Comrade Ben Hanford, of New York. (Applause.)

DEL. HILLOUIT (N. Y.): In behalf of the State of New York, of which the nominee, Benjamin Hanford, is a member, I desire to second the nomination. We in New York have in our movement men of all conditions. We have lawyers, Comrade Berger (laughter), and we have doctors and we have preachers. We also have the working class, and the movement is as sound as any state can boast of—and the pride of this movement in our state is Benjamin Hanford. (Applause.) We of New York who have worked with Ben, we of New York who have struggled with Ben for the common cause, for our great cause of Socialism, we of New York greatly prize Ben Hanford as no other set of men possibly can.

I say to this convention and to the delegates here assembled that under no circumstances could any better choice, any worthier choice, have been made for associate to the presidential candidate than you have made by the selection of Benjamin Hanford. If we now go before the working class of the nation, if we now go before the voters at large of this nation, and present to them the ticket of "Debs and Hanford," no ticket of any party can beat that. (Applause.)

The strength and brains of the working class of this country will be well represented on our ticket. It is being said once in a while by the opponents

of our cause that the working class is trying to take the reins of government, the administration of the affairs of this country, into their own hands. I challenge any old party politician or any set of politicians to rival our ticket, with a combination of men as fully capable, as intelligent, as earnest, as fully representative of the interests of the great struggling class as will be the candidates of the Socialist Party, after our nomination of Eugene V. Debs for President and Benjamin Hanford for Vice President. (Applause.)

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): Mr. Chairman and Comrades: In behalf of the delegation of California, we want to reach the hand of fellowship, of comradeship, clear across the plains and over the mountains to our brothers in New York and second the nomination of Ben Hanford. (Applause.)

DEL. HAZLETT (Colo.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades: In behalf of the woman proletarians of the United States, in behalf of those who are joined with their brother comrades in their great struggle for existence, in behalf of the women who have been pushed out of homes and into factories there to fight with their brothers for the means of life, I desire in the name of Colorado to second the nomination of Comrade Hanford for the position of Vice President.

And I do this also in the name of the comrades who are fighting the class struggle in the far west, do it because we want a proletarian workman on the ticket in the place of Vice President to represent us in Colorado, where the proletarians have been forced from their homes, where they have been thrown into jail without process of law, where they are aliens from home, to which they belong, where they are enduring all the hardships of the class struggle. In behalf of the women of America, in behalf of our comrades in Colorado, I desire to second the nomination of Comrade Hanford. (Applause.)

DEL. DILNO (Mo.): Comrade Chairman and Fellow Comrades: In behalf of the delegation from Missouri, I desire to be recorded in the minutes of the proceedings of this convention as endorsing the candidacy of our Comrade of New York. (Applause.) Although Missouri is located in the middle west, still she is familiar with the work of Comrade Hanford, knows him personally and has been with him in many of

the great campaigns. We know the interest he has in the movement, and the sacrifices which he has made for the cause. We know also fairly well that he is typical of the class which this party represents, and, therefore, in behalf of the delegation, again I wish to be recorded as seconding the nomination of Comrade Hanford, of New York. (Applause.)

DEL. BANDLOW (Ohio): In behalf of the comrades of the State of Ohio, I desire to move that Comrade Ben Hanford be made the unanimous choice of this convention as our candidate for Vice President.

The motion was seconded and unanimously adopted amid the long and continued cheers and applause of the delegates.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will take the liberty of appointing Delegates Carl Massey, Severance (N. Y.), Barnes (Pa.), Beryn (Ill.), Oneal (Ind.), Hazlett (Colo.) and Richardson (Cal.), to escort Comrade Hanford to the platform. (Applause.)

HANFORD'S SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE.

The committee appointed by the Chair then escorted Comrade Hanford to the platform, and, after the enthusiastic applause which greeted him had subsided, he said:

"Mr. Chairman and Comrades: You notice we went a long way around to get here. (Laughter.) I have noticed that Socialists sometimes do go a long way around to get a very short distance, but just so we get there, that is the main thing. (Laughter and applause.) I very much regret that Comrade Debs is not here. I should not only much rather that he had spoken first but really I am in doubt as to whether I am doing exactly the conventional thing. However, Socialists do not always do the conventional thing, anyhow. (Laughter and applause.)

I want to say briefly a word in relation to Comrade Debs, that, for a long time past, myself and many other comrades have considered with each other, in an entirely informal way, as to who would in all probability be the best possible choice as a candidate for President, and while none of these comrades that I have mentioned were considering it from any other standpoint than the good of the party, every one of them was unanimous in the opinion that Comrade Debs would be the best possible man to nominate for President at this time. (Loud applause.)

In relation to myself I do not know that there is much that I can say, more than this: That I have never allowed myself to seek anything in the Socialist movement from a personal standpoint, or for that matter in any other movement, but at the same time I have always been in the position that, whenever the party told me to do something, I always did it, no matter whether I liked it or not. (Loud and prolonged applause.) Comrade Titus made one mistake in a remark about me in placing my name before the convention. He spoke of my having made sacrifices for the Socialist movement. It depends on the way you look at it. In one sense it might perhaps be truly said that I had done a little of this or a little of the other, where possibly in a certain way I might have done better for myself by not doing given things, but I want to say this: that the Socialist movement has done more for me than I can ever do for it. (Applause.) I don't know that I exactly agree with the philosophy which says that whom the Lord loveth he chasteneth, but I do believe that there is no thing that a man can do in the world, that there is no blessing that can be conferred upon a man by any power on earth, which will be of the immense benefit to him throughout his whole life, so much as that of following the conscientious convictions of his own mind in matters of right and wrong. (Loud applause.)

I can say here truthfully that I very much doubt that, so far from my having sacrificed anything for the Socialist movement, I very much doubt that I would have been alive to-day had it not been for the Socialist movement, and I will tell you why. As you know, in my trade about ten or fifteen years ago there came in what we call the linotype, or typesetting machine; that machine came along. They put one of them in the printing office, one man got a job operating it, and this one man with the aid of the machine did the work that it formerly took three or four or five or as high as six men to do. Because of that machine, every time that one of them was out in an office they told some of the old hand printers to get out, to walk the plank, take to the street, be a tramp. Now, strange as it may seem, just about the time that typesetting machine was entering the printing offices was about the time that I got tangled up

in the Socialist movement. (Laughter.) Of course some people may imagine there is some connection between the two (laughter), but what I want to point out is this: I saw friends of mine, men that I had known for years, men better, abler than I was in every respect, men whom to-day, judged from the best standard of manhood could not be improved upon, I saw men like that driven out into the street, placed there without an occupation, idle; idleness, not leisure, but enforced idleness, and I saw those men go to the gin mill to-day and take a few glasses and to-morrow and take a few more. I saw them become despondent, I saw them look for work week in and week out, and not get it, and I saw men of the character that I have mentioned who went on down the line and eventually filled a drunkard's grave for no other primary reason than the fact that they were forced upon them through the entrance of that machine into my business.

Now, I did not follow that course, and do you know why? As I say, these men, many of them, were abler and better than I can ever be, but I got tangled up in this Socialist movement, and every day when I was out of work, when I was a victim of enforced idleness, instead of going to the gin mill and wasting my time, or becoming despondent, I used that time reading a book or a paper, or making a Socialist speech on a soap box, or something of that kind. In other words, idleness for others was work for me, and what was despair to other people was that of hope to me. (Loud applause.) That is one of the reasons why I say that I certainly cannot in any just sense be said to have ever made any sacrifices for the Socialist movement. It is to the Socialist movement that I attribute the fact that I am alive to-day. To use a slang expression, I consider that for the last seven or eight years, and all the more years I have got to come, I am what you would call "living on velvet," that is, I am already winner if I should drop dead right now. I have got more than is coming to me. (Laughter and applause.)

Now do want to say a word about one of the acts of this convention and how; the trade union resolution to-day upon which we had the roll call. That to me was a very vital and important matter. Not in itself, but from this standpoint, and I want to illustrate again by calling to your mind the old Socialist-

Labor party of which we still have left practically the record only. (Laughter.) Two years ago I went down in the coal region in Pennsylvania while the strike was going on there. I spoke once or twice or three or four times a day, I think. Wherever I went all it needed was to put up a little placard and leave a notice on a telegraph pole for two hours, and there, as though they had sprung out of the ground, were a thousand men or five thousand men or ten thousand men, and I can say that they heard me gladly, and not only that, but they heard Comrade Barnes and other comrades who were with me, and they heard any number of speakers. In fact, they heard gladly all the speakers that the Socialist party sent there. And, do you know why? Not for one moment was it the question of the few dollars and cents that we collected for them, but simply because those men knew that this much about the Socialist party, that it was in hearty sympathy with the trades unionists as against the capitalists in their scraps with the capitalists.

Now there was another party that would have liked to have gone and sent speakers down into that field, but it did not send one, and had it sent a speaker there, that man would not have been able to have spoken one hundred words in any town in the whole strike field. The Socialist Labor party was not able to send speakers there just because of its attitude against the trades unions. (Applause.) Now what I want you to understand is this, and after you hear the proposition I want you to go around and consider it, you comrades who disagree with me, but I do tell you this: that we have got to become more and more practical all the time. We don't expect to have another convention for four years, and yet we need to have a convention every six months. Do you know why? Why, for the experience that we get in it, working as an organized body. (Applause.)

Now this body so far has to my mind done its work well, but it has taken twice the time necessary to do that work. Why? Not for lack of intelligence; not for lack of integrity, but for lack of experience. (Applause.) There are some things in this world that you cannot learn out of a book whether it is Roberts' Rules of Order, or be the book what it may. (Laughter and applause.) I want to be in a position where the trades

unionists will listen to me, and our party, by taking the position that it has, can go out before the trades unionists, taking no part, no share in their scraps with each other—because they have their troubles the same as we do. You think it is an awful thing for two of these trade unionists to have troubles with each other, but Lord, look at us and the troubles we have had. (Laughter.) You think it is terrible when they make mistakes, but, good heavens, I would like to know, down to this hour almost, when we have ever had a chance to make a mistake that we didn't make it. (Laughter and loud applause.) But, they are like us again in this further respect: they have no interest in perpetuating their mistakes, any more than we have in perpetuating ours, and if they are wrong to-day they have got to be put into the crucible of experience so that they may come out right. (Cries of "Good" and loud applause.)

As a concluding word I want to impress upon your minds just one thing: This has been a splendid convention. There is one thing about it, that, with all of our, what we might call bungling methods merely, of doing business, simply to the fact that because of our not being accustomed to the tools, we do not know how to use them rightly; with all that, there is this thing that I have observed clearly in this convention. It is this: that absolute openness, frankness and good faith with which every comrade met every other comrade, both in debate and otherwise, no matter in what measure he disagreed with him. We must cultivate, we must at all times do everything that we can, to keep up that spirit of having everybody speak out in meeting, no matter who it is, no matter what his opinion may be. Don't, whatever you do, try to keep it quiet, don't try to carry it out by conspiracy, by plotting or by scheming. On the contrary, and let it stand upon its merits. If it is a good plan or a good scheme you have got in your head, bring it out and we will take it. If it is not good, we will show where it is wrong, and so let no man imagine that if he speaks for some scheme that is not good that it will hurt him. It will do him good to find out what is the matter with it. (Loud applause.)

And, comrades, when you go back home, remember that we all agree that this convention has been the great-

est Socialist convention ever held in the United States, much greater than any other. (Applause.) Not only greater in numbers, but in the general character and quality and ability of the assembled delegates. But do not forget this, that your work does not stop with this convention. Do not forget, whatever you do, that not only from the time that you get home, but when you get back home, the campaign for international Socialism has begun. (Prolonged applause.) It won't run itself, and we haven't got any capitalist to run it for us. It is going to be run by you people and the people that send you, and what I say to you is, do all that you can, not only to arouse yourselves and your comrades, but to inspire them with the hope and the promise of success. Progress! What movement on the face of this earth that stood for one hundredth part as much has ever made such rapid progress as this Socialist movement has, the world over? (Loud cheering and applause.)

Do you know, Comrades, that twenty years ago I had never read the word "Socialism" to have the remotest idea of what it meant, other than in a dictionary or something of that kind? Do you know that fifteen or sixteen years ago that if a man had been located, say in Davenport, Ia., or in any other town of two or three hundred thousands in the United States, and wanted to find out what Socialism meant (I mean an American born), he would have had to hire a detective to find somebody that could tell him. (Laughter and applause.) You talk about progress; I tell you, my friends, that while in certain states from time to time you may be discouraged, the burden may seem to you too heavy; while in certain states from time to time there may be the darkest outlooks, don't forget that this old movement is going marching on, and nothing on this earth can stop it.

You have the greatest privilege, as Comrade Titus pointed out, that any people on the face of the earth have ever had before. In all previous revolutions, none of them, not one of them, ever had it in its power to do anything more than liberate a certain group of people, or a little nation of people. Take the war of the Rebellion; all it could do was to liberate the black slaves from chains of slavery and make wage slaves of them. Go back to the Revolutionary war and all

they could do was to take our political liberties for ourselves and get our political independence from King George. But this movement does not propose to free me and leave another man a slave; this movement does not propose to free the people of Cook county and leave all the rest of the people up against it. This movement proposes to free every man and every woman and every child on the earth, wherever they be, whatever color they may be, for all time. This movement is not only worth living for (loud applause), but it is better worth dying for than any other movement in the world. (Prolonged cheering and applause.)

To bring about the furtherance of this thing, I say to you, let your hearts be as true as steel, be steel to the very back; put your soul and body both into action, and we will have Socialism in our time and in our country.

Delegate Hanford was greeted with the most enthusiastic cheering and applause at the conclusion of his speech, and when quiet had been restored, the regular order of business was proceeded with, as follows:

THE CHAIRMAN: The next thing in order is the report of the Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau, Comrade George D. Herron, International Secretary for the United States.

DEL. HERRON: If I were sure that the Chairman would not call me to order, I would say that things are coming so fast this afternoon that I can hardly keep up with them, especially when I find my good friend, Benjamin Hanford, nominated as the Socialist candidate for Vice President. (Laughter and applause.)

Report of the International Socialist Bureau by the Secretary for the United States.

Comrades of the National Convention: The International Socialist Bureau was formed as a result of the Paris convention of 1900, and of previous conferences between the national representatives of the Socialist movement of Europe.

The purpose of its formation was to constitute an International Bureau, through which the Socialist movement of the various nations of the world might communicate with each other,

and co-operate with each other in mutually understood programs, and, so far as practicable, in united action.

Brussels was selected as the seat of the International Bureau, and semi-annual meetings have been held since the Bureau's formation.

But it cannot be said that the Bureau has as yet accomplished much beyond keeping itself on record, or beyond the rather unimportant discussions of details that have occurred at its semi-annual meetings. Perhaps its most significant action has been the securing of concurrent action on the part of the Socialist members of the different European parliaments concerning the war between Great Britain and the Boers. Resolutions were introduced by Socialist members into the national legislative bodies at Berlin, Rome and Brussels, that created no little discussion, and considerable British indignation and protest. As a result, many public meetings of protest were held throughout the continent.

While, of course, the resolutions had no effect upon the war or its outcome, the pedagogic or propaganda result was very valuable. Some discussion has also been occasioned by the resolution passed by the Bureau concerning the lynching of negroes in the United States. I feel obliged, however, to decline personal responsibility for the resolution as it was worded. It is very different in statement and substance and is much more extreme than the report which I sent to the Bureau upon this subject.

But on the whole, it does not seem to me that the International Socialist Bureau has as yet been at all equal to its opportunity. It is not worth while for Socialist men—all of them overworked in their own national movements—to gather together from the ends of the earth twice a year to hear statistical reports and minor discussions. But it is immeasurably worth while that the great International Socialist movement shall be fused in one great dynamic world body; that the Socialist movement of all nations shall act together as one voice and one power in every great question, in every great nation; that it shall hold and be the balance of power which every nation must reckon with.

If the Socialist movement had the

balance of power, if it even had only one-third, we will say, of the suffragists of Russia and Japan, if it only had one-third enough to hold the balance of power, it could prevent a war between Russia and Japan, and not only that, but it could practically compel the disarmament of the whole world. That, acting through its representatives, if the Socialist movement held the balance of power politically in the different nations, that acting through its representatives in this bureau, or through them carrying out its instructions, the International Socialist movement might make it impossible for one nation to go to war with another simply because of the centralizing of the influence or of the forces of the Socialist movement in the nation, when it were needed.

So, the poet's dream of the federation of the world, and the parliament of man, is germinal in the International Socialist Bureau, and it is only by recognition of this, and by a larger sense of the Bureau's opportunities and significance, that it can justify and develop its being.

I am afraid it will become the member from the United States to speak with such emphasis concerning the possible need and importance of the Bureau, as the Socialist movement of this country has taken practically no interest in the Bureau's existence, and has paid nothing towards its maintenance. There seems to be some confusion even of the International Socialist Bureau, which is, in theory, in perpetual session, with the International Socialist Congress, which meets upon the call of the Bureau, and is a convention, not a Bureau, and which meets this coming August in Amsterdam, and to which this convention should elect delegates.

We should also at this convention adopt, or recommend, some method of making a regular annual contribution for the maintenance of the Bureau. All that has been paid is the sum of 25½ francs in 1901, and that was by a private individual, and for the Social Democratic party, before the present unity of the Socialist forces had been accomplished.

The Socialist movement of the United States, as a movement, has paid nothing at all in the four years since the Bureau's formation.

I would recommend that the sum of 1,000 francs, or \$200.00, be settled upon as our present annual contribution.

Fraternally submitted,

GEORGE D. HERRON.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard the report of the National Secretary of the United States for the International Socialist Bureau. What is your pleasure?

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): I move that the report be received and the recommendation be concurred in.

Motion seconded.

FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF INTERNATIONAL BUREAU.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I move to amend the report by striking out that portion of the report relating to the \$200, and that that portion be referred to the National Committee, and I do so for this reason: That \$200 will not be sufficient at this time to meet the increased expense that the convention has provided for, and it would be well for us to see our way clear before we commit ourselves to any further expense. Now that, I think, would be the wiser plan to follow.

Motion seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Herron has the floor. He desires to speak on this matter.

DEL. HERRON: I would like to state in reference to this recommendation, that in a certain sense we are under what might be called a moral obligation to add our part towards the support of the Bureau, for this reason: That we did at the time of its formation accept a membership in the Bureau and were elected to that Bureau, and it does not look well to receive the quarterly report and find that Germany has paid so much, and France so much, and Italy so much, and England so much, and the United States nothing. Now, this, understood, is not to pay the expense of any American member, whoever he might be; no provision is made for that. This is simply to pay our part towards the maintenance of the headquarters of the Bureau at Brussels, in which the Socialist movements of all the nations have held their part.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): Comrade Chairman, I rise to support the recommendation of the International Secretary as against the amendment proposed by Delegate Kerrigan. I do so partly because I am one of the original framers

of the motion which resulted in the formation of the International Bureau. Before that was presented to the International Congress at Paris which gave it birth, it was the pleasure of my good Comrade Herron and myself to frame the motion and the plan upon which the Bureau was established. Now, I confess, Comrades, that I am so far disappointed in the results of the effort to establish a Bureau. The idea of the formation of the International Socialist Bureau was briefly this: that just as surely as the old International was a power for the expression of the International working class sentiment, and just so surely as it was a power before the shaking thrones of Europe at that time, I say now when we have a far greater movement, when we have a far more important movement, when we are confronted with far more important and far more menacing conditions, the working class movement of the world ought at all times to be able to act in concert upon any contingency which might arise, and I desire to emphasize the point which has already been made by Comrade Herron at the speech delivered after the famous banquet on Sunday night, and that point briefly is this: that the working class movement of the world has now arrived at a point where it is powerful enough whenever it so desires, if it can act in harmony, it can prevent the international capitalist class from doing many things which they desire to do and which they may do if we do not prevent it. (Applause.) Now, Comrades, the International Bureau has done little, and why has this been? Why, because in the main the working class movement has been indifferent to its opportunities and indifferent to its responsibilities. If we, or any men, want to belong to the International movement, we must share our share of the responsibilities of the International movement, and we cannot accept that responsibility merely by pious resolutions. We have got an office in Brussels of the International Bureau, we have a United States secretary and we have an International machinery, but we refuse, or have refused up to now, to make any contribution to that power which alone can make that machinery efficient and which alone can set it in motion. Therefore, I am in favor of the committee's recommendation that we contribute 1,000 francs now. I believe

it is not too much to pay for our contribution to the Bureau. I believe it is rather too little, and I hope that by the time we have another convention of the American Socialist Party, we shall have helped to make the Bureau the power which it ought to be, and that we shall be prepared to contribute much more than \$200 to its support. (Loud applause.)

DEL. HILLQUIT (N. Y.): I desire to offer the following: "Resolved, that the National Committee be instructed to formulate rules for the election by referendum of as many representatives to the International Socialist Bureau as the party may be entitled to, and for the payment of the dues of this party to the said Bureau." If that is seconded I will state my reasons.

The resolution was seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: We have already provided by constitution that the Secretary has charge of national and the international affairs of his party. We have so far nowhere no rule absolutely, whatsoever, for the election of our delegates to the International Bureau. We may only have to elect one, or we may have to elect more than that. The only other Socialist party in this country, the Socialist Labor party, has elected none, so we are really entitled to two. There has been no provision, however, whatsoever, as to the election of these representatives. We have provided for no report to the National Committee, and I stated in the past published in the party press, which I presume will be very desirable and keep the members posted on what we are doing in the International movement. Finally, we have not paid a cent to the support of the Bureau. Now I do not know whether the payment of this \$200 has now required. I notice, however, that while the International Bureau has done less work possibly than it was expected to do, it has incurred less expense, and for this reason, and in order that we may have definite action on this matter, I move the passage of that resolution.

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): I want to speak in favor of my amendment. In the first place, the last thing to be done in any convention is the adoption of the constitution. I called the attention of the convention last evening to just what has now occurred. Until after a report of all committees you never should take

up the constitution. That is the most important thing in the regulation of the organization for the next four years, and we find it occurring now and it will occur again, that unless you wait until at least a partial report of the committees, before taking up the constitution, these difficulties will arise. I move, therefore, that that portion of the report be referred in relation to the payment of money, and that it be referred to the Committee on Constitution, and that other matters which come up during the evening be sent to them. Then they can come in and make a final report and before we adjourn we can conclude the final approval or disapproval of the report in the vote on the adoption of the report of the Committee on Constitution as a whole. That is what should be done.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is moved and seconded that that part of the International Secretary's report which recommends the payment of a certain sum to the International Bureau, shall be referred to the Committee on Constitution.

The question was then put on the motion and it was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question reverts upon the report. The motion before us now is upon the acceptance of the report of the Secretary as read.

The motion was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next thing in order under the rules of order is the election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress.

International Delegates.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to offer a resolution under this head:

Resolved, first: That this convention now proceed to the election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress, to be held in Amsterdam, in August, 1904. Second: That the election of such delegates be by ballot, and that the three candidates receiving the largest number of votes upon such ballot serve as such delegates. Third: That this convention and the National Committee of the party shall be authorized to issue credentials for the attendance at the International Congress as delegates of the party, to such and as many additional members in good standing in

the party, not exceeding twenty in all, as may apply for such credentials, intending to attend said Congress at their own expense. Fourth: That no state or local organization of the party shall issue credentials to delegates to the said International Congress.

The resolution was seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to state the reasons for this resolution. In the first place, I advocate the election of three delegates to the International Congress. I believe the time has come when our party ought to assert itself in the international movement. Up to the present, in fact, we have had no Socialist movement in the United States worth speaking of. When the last convention was held in 1900, especially, the Socialist movement in this country was so much torn, it was divided into so many different factions, that it was absolutely impossible to speak of an organized Socialist movement in this country. For the first time in the history of the movement in this country we have now a solid, strong, promising and growing organization of national scope. For the first time in the history of our movement we have almost all of the states and territories in the Union represented in national convention, and I say the time has arrived when we ought to take a place among the nations of the world in the movement of Socialism. (Applause.) Three delegates is not any too large a number. And I wish to state also that this is not only on mere sentimental grounds. The international movement reacts on each and every national movement represented in it. A good showing at the International Congress strengthens the national organizations of the different countries, because it strengthens the entire international movement. Just in the same as when we have strengthened the organization of one respective state by this splendid convention, just in the way as we will have inspired new enthusiasm and courage in the hearts of our different local organizations and state organizations by this national convention, so the international convention will inspire new hope and enthusiasm and visions of success in the hearts of the various national movements. And I say it is our duty to contribute our share to make that success a fact by having at least three official representatives of the party in the International Congress. In the next

place, also provide that the National Committee or this convention should have the right to issue additional credentials to such as expect to attend the congress at their own expense. I know personally of a number of comrades who expect to go abroad in the summer and who would gladly embrace the opportunity to be present at the International Congress. At the same time we ought to restrict this power to issue credentials to the national organization, for this reason: Up till now it has been customary for every local, for every state, for every organization, to issue credentials. At the International Congress it will be recognized, no matter by whom issued, since the organization issuing it stands on the principles and the platform of the class struggle and political action. Now, I want to say that occasionally we may place our movement in a very unenviable light through these loose methods. For instance, at the first of the series of the last international conventions in Paris, America was represented by a delegate from an association of coach owners and cab owners. That was the kind of labor organization represented there. There was another delegate supposed to represent the United German trades who unfortunately did not find his way to the Congress and came back and reported that he could not find it. Paris was a big city, and little conventions were lost. If you go through the history of all those conventions and look at the reports of our party at those conventions, you will find that they were anything but a credit to it. And I say that no matter who the various persons may be, whether they be from the local or the state, when they go to the congress, they will be regarded as the representatives of our party, and we should at least be able to know who goes and who sends them. I know of one comrade who has already obtained credentials from the state convention of New Jersey. I happen to know that comrade, and I happen to know that he is a very excellent comrade and will make a good representative. That comrade should receive credentials from the National Committee. There may be others who may be good comrades, but who will not do as representatives of this nation, as far as the Socialist movement is concerned, in the International Congress of Socialists. They cannot prop-

erly represent us, and I say we ought to have control over this, and it is for this reason that I provide that state or local organizations shall not issue credentials to delegates at the International Convention. (Applause.)

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I understand from Comrade Hillquit's resolution that the delegates to be elected shall defray their own expenses. Am I correct?

DEL. HILLQUIT: No, I do not say that.

DEL. HAYES: Then I misunderstood the resolution.

DEL. HILLQUIT: You certainly did.

DEL. HAYES: I beg your pardon. DEL. HILLQUIT: I said three delegates to be elected by this convention, and I further said this convention and the National Committee to have the power to issue additional credentials to such comrades as might happen to go abroad and intend to be there and want credentials.

DEL. HAYES: Then the party is to pay the expenses of the delegates, of course.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Certainly.

DEL. HAYES: All right; that is satisfactory.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I would like to say a word. I dislike to be eternally bringing up anything that relates to the conduct of party affairs, but facts are stubborn things, and they are apt to disturb us at the critical moment. Sending three delegates will be a nice thing for the party, and an international gathering over there will also be a good thing for the world Socialist movement, but the question is the material side of this thing, and Socialists are obliged to admit that it is the material, after all, that determines a man's and a party's course. Now, we know that the National Committee had to surrender the right of meeting and passing upon party affairs last January, because it was thought that it was to the best interest of the party to wipe out a debt and save the amount that this committee meeting would cost. Here we are proposing to create additional expense without any possible means for increasing the revenues, and the national office will probably find itself at the conclusion of this convention with a deficit. I would like

to know where all these funds are going to come from. I like always to have any additional expense if there is also provided means for raising those funds. That is the practical way to look at these things. I think we should not send delegates unless the party does pay the expense. I think furthermore that we can well afford to wait until such time as there are funds. I would like to see a balance once in a while in the report of the National Secretary. It would make us feel that we could go on with our work in the nation. We have a national campaign on hand, and this summer will be a very good time to use all the funds we can possibly raise at home.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I move that we proceed to nominate.

The Secretary being called on, read the Hillquit resolution to the convention.

DEL. KERRIGAN: Does that mean that they shall pay their own expenses? The language of that resolution seems to be that they shall pay their own expenses.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, the third paragraph provides that those who receive credentials direct from the National Committee shall pay their own expenses, but the second paragraph, providing for the election of three delegates, says nothing at all as to whether they shall pay their own expenses or not.

DEL. OSWALD (N. J.): I think with Delegate Kerrigan, that we are going a little too far with the expenditure of money. We have already voted to increase the salary of the National Secretary. We have a recommendation from the Committee on State and Municipal Platform which calls for the election of a secretary for the special work of attending to the preliminary work on municipal and state platform, at a salary of \$1,000 a year, and I think we would feel rather ashamed to go back to our constituencies and say that we have added this additional burden to the national finances. Therefore, I move you that for the word "three" in the report offered, the word "one," making it read "one delegate." Seconded.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I rise for information. I never made the trip across, and I do not know how much it costs. Can we get some idea how much the expense of three delegates will be,

or one delegate, so that we can act intelligently?

THE CHAIRMAN: I will ask Comrade Max Hayes, who attended the British Trade Union Congress as a delegate from the American Federation of Labor last year, as to what he would estimate the cost to be. Is Comrade Hayes in the hall?

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I want to say that the Federation of Labor allows its fraternal delegates to Great Britain \$300 each, but a delegate traveling alone, of course, can go there and pay his expenses on the \$300 and remain, as they usually do, and visit the various industrial centers for several weeks. I believe that the trip could be made to Amsterdam direct and return for about \$200.

A DELEGATE: \$200 for expenses? DEL. HAYES: Yes, expenses.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is that all, Comrade Hayes?

DEL. HAYES: That is all I know. Question called for on the amendment.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I just as much dislike arguing for what seems to be extravagance as other delegates dislike arguing on the other side, but I want to say that there comes a time when it is seemingly unwise to balance a hundred dollars, more or less, against certain well-defined interests in the party. (Applause.) As to the probability of expense, I have no doubt at all that three men elected from let us say one from the east, one from the middle west and one from the west, if you like,—that the whole business could be done, well, safely say, and a comfortable margin left, if you devote five or six hundred dollars for the expense. A delegate says no. All right. Let me do the work, and I know something about it, and I say that it can be done for about \$150 to \$200 per delegate, and that without inflicting any sort of hardship upon the men elected as delegates. (Applause.) Now, then, comrades, I say this: that at this convention in particular there is an especial reason why the Socialist party of America should be well represented. In the first place, the faction of a party that once was and now is only a memory, is sending all its party membership as its delegation in the person of Daniel De Leon. (Laughter.) And that Daniel De Leon, the Socialist

Labor party of America, will, I have no doubt, do all that lies in its power to vilify, to calumniate, to misrepresent alike the personnel and the character of the Socialist party of this country. Now, comrades, whatever you say, the opinion and the good will and the good faith of your European comrades mean something to the Socialist party of America, and if for no other reason than that we should go there to vindicate our position and party integrity, it would be money well spent and we ought not to consider the saving of that money. But there is another reason, and this reason goes deeper, and is of importance on both sides of the Atlantic. It is this: that during the past year or two the movement at home has been devoting itself largely to the study of what we in this country call the trust question, and upon the discussion of that trust question as they have it in Europe there has been in large part a factional fight which has done something, at any rate, to disrupt the European movement. Now, the views of the American delegation to that conference upon this particular question would be of immense advantage to the European movement, and I say that we in the International Socialist movement that we send a delegation from America that will present this question of the concentration of capital and capitalist power from the point of view of the country that has it in larger measure than any other. (Applause.) And for this reason I am in favor of the motion to send three delegates at the expense of the party. I am in favor of the recommendation that if there be twenty good men and true, or good women and true, who desire to represent the party, they should be given credentials to it, and that when our next international Congress meets in Amsterdam we shall have a delegation from the Socialist party of America worthy of the present strength of the party, worthy of its intellectual character, worthy of its prospects, and second to no delegation in that congress. (Applause.)

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I wish to endorse the remarks of Comrade Spargo on the matter of sending three delegates to the Amsterdam Congress. I believe that the expense—say it will average \$200 per delegate—can very easily be proportioned among the various states, the amount raised and sent to the

national headquarters. I believe that it is necessary to send three delegates by reason of the experience that I had while across the water last fall. I want to say to you delegates here this afternoon that our European brothers and comrades have practically no conception of the tremendous labor movement of the United States and of the various social upheavals that have taken place in this country during the past dozen years. The question of trusts, to the average European, is a closed book, although they are at the present time beginning to feel the same pressure from the capitalist class above that we have felt in this land during the past six or eight years. But it is true that practically no news slips through the cables between the American and the European industrial centers. You can take your leading London daily newspapers, and all of the American reports, whether they be of a general news nature, of a political nature or otherwise, are condensed into about half a column. There is never any mention made of any industrial struggle here. There is never the semblance of a word regarding the growth, expansion and victories, local though they may be, of the Socialist movement of this country, and for that reason it becomes necessary that we send our delegates there to inform our comrades on the other side of the water as to the exact conditions that exist in the United States, whether they be intellectual, political, social or otherwise. I am heartily in favor of the proposition to send three delegates, and am satisfied that we can very easily raise the funds. (Applause.)

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I was among those advocating the reducing of the monthly dues to three cents. I have been doing a little arithmetic here, and if my practice is not wrong two cents for one month from each member of the present organization would pay these expenses as estimated. And I count it well worth much more than two cents that each member be represented as he would be by three men who could be selected. I sympathize with Comrade Kerrigan in immediate difficulties. It is not what we have done, it is not what we have on hand; it is what we can do that will be the inspiration of this party, and that will make possibilities all the while. I am in favor of three delegates, and of paying their expenses.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): I am opposed to sending three delegates to Europe. I am opposed to this motion or to this resolution for two reasons: In the first place, we are in a national campaign. I believe we need all the funds we can get to carry on a successful campaign. When you elect three delegates to the congress, you will certainly try to elect the best ones, the best element you can get, and I believe, as we are now in a national campaign, we ought to keep the best element at home to do some good work at home. (Applause.) I do not believe that three of our best men should be sent over to Europe while we need them at home to make the battle. We need every good man at home, and when the time comes that the Socialist party of America grows to cast a million votes, then our European comrades will soon enough learn about the growth of the Socialist movement. (Applause.)

DEL. BENESSI (Mich.): I rise to a point of information. I would like to be informed in what language the deliberations of the congress are carried on.

DEL. HOEHN: In three languages. DEL. BENESSI: Which languages? DEL. HERRON: They will be in three languages; French, English and German.

DEL. BENESSI: Then I think there should be three delegates or two delegates, because I am not in favor of twenty delegates. I would be in favor of a very small number of delegates, and those delegates to be chosen, if we possibly can, from among the proletarians, and not from among the bourgeoisie. The comrades that can speak at least two or three languages. I would be in favor of that.

DEL. REILLY (N. Y.): I wish to speak in support of Comrade Oswald's amendment providing for one delegate instead of three. While I recognize the importance of the Socialist Party of America being adequately represented at the International Socialist and Trade Union Congress, and while I recognize the advisability of not quibbling at the expense of sending a delegate or two more, there is one question that must be met, and that is, where are the funds to come from? During the past year, from my personal experience from having some dealings with the national office, I know that the National Secre-

tary has been at his wits' ends as to how funds could be secured to pay the expenses incident to the necessary work of the party here in this country at the present time. No doubt the National Secretary can testify that much has been left undone because the amount necessary for it could not be obtained. As to the desirability of having three delegates present, especially with the National Committee as authority to issue credentials to twenty men, if they so desired to go and pay their own expenses, because the Socialist Labor party will be there, I want to say that the American Socialist movement is not so weak as to require three of its best men to match De Leon in replying to his misrepresentations. (Applause.) We have any number of men singly who are more than a match for him in ability to defend the Socialist Party against any calumination he may bring against it.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): I want to repeat the sentiment just uttered by the delegate from New Jersey. It seems to me absurd to go on spending money to send three delegates across the water to be an antidote to De Leon. We are providing for a lot of expenses. We have advanced the salary of the Secretary. We have had to advance the expense of all those associated with him in the office, and we will have a big office force. We have a proposition here before us for a \$1,000 salary offered to take care of the State and Municipal Program here. We seem to think that we have got a big treasury. I hope we will have. We have just barely paid a big debt of our old organization. I want to ask in conclusion, what good can three do over one? Let us save our money and keep our men at home. There will be plenty of men over there. Comrade Hillquit has said there are others that want to go and will go anyhow, and we will be well represented, and I do not see any reason especially for three, especially one from the Pacific coast, which would cost \$50 for expenses in this country alone to come from the Pacific to the Atlantic as to cross the ditch. Let us stay at home, do our work and save our money.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): I am like Delegate Titus. I am opposed to three, or even one. I think we have a job on hand that will take all the energy of every man in the movement, and

there is no one that we can possibly spare to do the work at the present time in the Presidential campaign. I can assure the comrades that there is a great deal of hard work to be done. It is even a hard matter to raise the necessary funds required to do the work in the states at home, and the result is that wherever we need a lot of men to work they are hard to get, and if we have more funds in the state the state would have a larger vote at each election. It may be all right for the comrades to go that fortuitously can spare every once in a while a five or ten-dollar bill or more for the advancement of the cause, but the majority of the members are not in a position to do that, and especially right now, because there are states where in some of the locals a majority of the members are not at work and are not even able to keep their dues. We increased the salary of the Secretary. We have provided for another \$1,000 expense. We want to provide the means to have a lot of books and pamphlets and tracts to furnish the members with. In all that we are providing for expense, and in no way are we providing for additional remuneration. We increased the salary of the Secretary. I agree with the comrades so far as representation at the International Congress is concerned, but at the same time I think we can stand it for a few months until we are better financially able to do the work. This year is a most important year in the history of Socialism in America, and I think we have about all we can do in this year from now until next November. I read the reports of the International Bureau, and I can say that I was as much disappointed as any man could be. I know the international movement as well, I suppose, as a good many do, because I have been in the movement long enough, and I say that there were some questions discussed that to me, with the industrial development of to-day, are absolutely puerile, that are not fit to be talked of. That is the way I look at it. It is far more important to me to see every working man in the United States in the ranks of the Socialist Party. That is the most important task that we have had for years, and the only one that I think is worth considering and spending money on. I want to make more Socialists, and I want to make them right where I live, and I

guess every other comrade is in the same condition. Talk is very cheap, but it takes money to buy food. I have witnessed the progress of the party in New York and some states where they have been organized twenty years. I was in the movement sixteen years ago in New York, and I have been in the movement fifteen years in the South, and we have made more progress in the last three or five years than has been made in any other section, considering the time that Socialism has been known. And right here we want to saddle six or eight hundred dollars on the shoulders of the comrades, and when I go home what will they say? They will say, "You must be a millionaire's club by the way you have been throwing money around." I think it is about time we put a stop to it. I have taken no part in the debate on many questions, for the simple reason that I thought it was not necessary, but now that a question comes up that I do not think is necessary, I am going to kick, and there are others of the same kind. Comrade Spargo illustrates it very well, and Comrade Herron too. I agree with them, but this is not the most important matter to us. Let us build up the party and get more members; then we can attend the congress and send not only three, but three hundred, and I will be glad when the time comes.

DEL. GOAZIOU (Pa.): I am in favor of the amendment that has been made to send one. I feel that we can find one member that is able to represent this party at the Amsterdam Congress, and I would be sorry if we would send three delegates because one party in this country has decided to send De Leon. A few years ago the papers, at least so far as the French papers were concerned, did not take into much consideration the Socialist party here. I do not believe it is necessary to send one man, so far as that part of the program is concerned. To-day the papers of the revolutionary party of France know exactly what De Leonism means, at least so far as I have been able to read them, and I hope that if we send one or three, we send them not with the notion that they are needed there because De Leon is going. I think that is the worst mistake we have made, in so far as talking about De Leon. The French newspapers, the revolutionary French papers to-day—and although I don't read the German

papers, because I cannot read German, I suppose it will be the same with the German papers—exactly understand De Leon to-day, and he can go to Amsterdam and tell all the stories that he thinks necessary, and they won't believe him.

The previous question was moved, seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now recurs upon the resolution.

DEL. TITUS: I move as a further amendment to the resolution that we elect an alternate. Seconded.

The amendment of Delegate Titus was then put and carried, and the resolution as amended was adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: Nominations are now in order.

ELECTION OF INTERNATIONAL DELEGATE.

The following nominations were made: May Wood Simons (Ill.), by Hazlett (Colo.).

J. S. Smith (Ill.), by ———
A. M. Simons (Ill.), by J. S. Smith (Ill.).

Spargo (N. Y.), by ———
Hillquit (N. Y.), by Reynolds (Ind.).
Herron (N. Y.), by Menton (Mich.).
Wilson (Cal.), by Cogswell (Kan.).
Hays (Ohio), by ———
Berger (Wis.), by Robinson (Ky.).
Carey (Mass.), by ———
Unterman (Ill.), by ———
Hillquit, seconded by Titus (Wash.).
Maily (Neb.), by ———
Lamb (Mich.), by Berger (Wis.).
Delegate Miller (Colo.), moved that the nominations close. Seconded and carried.

While the names were being placed on the blackboard, Delegate Phelan (Ill.) extended an invitation to the delegates, on behalf of the Third Ward Branch of Cook County Local to attend an entertainment at their headquarters, 3345 State street, this (Thursday) evening. Also an invitation from the German Women's Socialist Club to attend an entertainment Friday evening after the adjournment of the national convention, at Trade Union Hall, 55 North Clark street.

DEL. WORK (Iowa): I move that the candidate receiving the second highest vote be the alternate. Seconded and carried.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I move that it require a majority of the whole vote, not simply a plurality. Seconded.

DEL. BRANDT (Mo.): I move that that motion be laid on the table. Seconded.

The motion to lay on the table was adopted.

The list of nominees was called off by the Chairman, and Herron, Wilson, Hayes, Berger, Carey, Maily and Lamb declined. Mrs. Simons was not present.

THE CHAIRMAN: Did the delegate who nominated Mrs. Simons have her authority.

DEL. HAZLETT: No, I did not have authority.

Delegate Smith (Ill.) assumed authority to withdraw the name of May Wood Simons.

DEL. HAZLETT: I don't know that Comrade Smith has any more authority to withdraw Mrs. Simons' name than I to nominate her. If Mr. Simons happens to be the delegate she might be the alternate and might go.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): As a delegate from Illinois, I think it would be very unfair to run Mr. Simons as against Mrs. Simons for this election. Of course, if she consents, I have nothing more to say.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think, under the circumstances, as Comrade Smith has no authority to use or withdraw Mrs. Simons' name, her name should be retained on the blackboard. (Applause.)

Delegate Kerrigan moved that if no election was had on the first ballot the two lowest in the list should be dropped.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is understood that if no one is elected on the first ballot the lowest will be dropped.

The vote was then directed to be collected by the secretaries of the state delegations and handed to the secretary of the convention.

DEL. BARNES (Pa.): Before we proceed to vote, and while the tellers are preparing, I desire to ask the Chairman if it is necessary to suspend the rules in order to abolish the night session this evening. I ask for information.

THE CHAIRMAN: I should so rule.

DEL. BARNES: Then before I make a motion I would state, if it is in order, that there has been a call issued for a meeting of state secretaries and organizers of the party. They have not as yet

come together. There are at least two committees who have minor matters in bringing up to date and consider in order to be able to report intelligently and conclude their report upon the matters in hand. The delegates have been very faithful in their attendance on the day sessions and night sessions. My idea is to abandon the meeting to-night in order to permit the work of the convention in the hands of committee to get in shape to be dispatched readily on to-morrow.

THE CHAIRMAN: A motion will be in order.

DEL. BARNES: I am prefacing the motion very briefly. I believe that it is impossible for us to conclude our work to-night. There will of necessity be to-morrow's session, but if we do not have a night session we can easily conclude our work to-morrow, and a little better by reason of not having a night session. For these reasons I move that the rules be suspended and that we do not have a night session this evening.

Motion seconded.

DEL. ROBINSON (Ky.): I hope the motion will not prevail. We have been here the greatest part of a week, and many of us must soon leave for home. We want to remain until the close of the convention if possible. If we hold a session to-night it will expedite matters so that perhaps we can finish up in time to get away on the evening train to-morrow. I want to see this motion voted down.

DEL. HOEHN (Mo.): We are in the same position. Three of our delegates left last night, and five of us will have to leave to-night on the midnight train. There are only about two left, the others having important business to transact at home, and we cannot help it, but must leave to-night. I would like to attend a night session.

THE CHAIRMAN (Delegate Mailly): I wish to make a statement on behalf of the National Secretary and the state secretaries. We have been trying all week to get a conference of the state secretaries and of the national organizers. Various things have happened to prevent us from holding that conference. We believe that such a conference is of great value to the party, and I believe we can very well adjourn to-night and let us come together and consider and give us an opportunity to come to an understanding that will result

in systematizing our work. If this conference is held we can talk and go over different things about which we ought to confer, and I hope we will be given the opportunity.

DEL. TOOLE (Md.): I want to go home to-morrow, but I want to protest against doing away with this evening's session. My local sent me here to do work. I have to leave to-morrow on the three o'clock train, and I want to see the business of this convention done before that time, and if we adjourn to-night we will waste time. The same way with other comrades.

DEL. STEDMAN: I think the trouble with the time at these conventions is always on the first day. You had a banquet that night, when as a matter of fact you should have been adopting rules for the convention. If you had worked the first day like you have since we would be nearer final adjournment. You should have given your committees time to work at night, instead of requiring the members to be in attendance at the convention. If you had followed this plan we would have been through to-day. I think we should now adjourn. I think the first order of business to-morrow should be the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program, which will enable us to finish early to-morrow.

The motion to suspend the rules requiring a night session was put and carried.

Delegate Stedman moved that the first order of business to-morrow (Friday) morning be the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program. Seconded and carried.

Delegate Cross (Wis.) moved to suspend the rules until the convention had voted upon the matter before the house. Seconded and carried.

ASST. SECY. CROSS (Wis.): I would like to make one announcement, that will take perhaps but two or three minutes. The assistant secretary finds it necessary for him to return to Madison, Wis., in order that he may resume his studies in the university to-morrow morning. I have already spent over a week from home, and find it necessary to return by the three o'clock train to-morrow morning. Therefore it is with the greatest regret that I say adieu to the delegates of this convention. (Applause.)

On motion of Delegate Irene Smith (Ore.) a vote of thanks was unanimously tendered to Assistant Secretary Cross for the work he performed as assistant secretary of the convention.

The vote on International Delegate was then announced, as follows: Hillquit, 46; Untermann, 37; A. M. Simons, 35; Spargo, 15; May Wood Simons, 14.

THE CHAIRMAN: If agreeable to the house, according to customary rule, the last two lowest ones will be dropped.

Delegate Berger (Wis.) moved to adjourn till to-morrow morning. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: That leaves the matter of final election of a delegate for to-morrow morning. That will be the first order of business, after which will come the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

The convention then adjourned until Friday morning.

SIXTH DAY'S SESSION—MORNING

National Secretary Maily called the convention to order at 9 o'clock.

The following nominations were made for Chairman for the day:

Stedman (Ill.), by Gaylord (Wis.).

Barnes (Pa.), by Collins (Ill.).

Barnes declined.

On motion the nominations were closed and Delegate Stedman, being the only nominee, was unanimously elected.

Nominations for vice-chairman were made as follows:

W. W. Wilkins (Cal.), by Titus (Wash.).

Kolachney (Okla.), by Hayes (Okla.).

On motion of Delegate Nagel (Ky.) the nominations were closed.

A rising vote being taken, Delegate Wilkins was elected vice-chairman.

DEL. HERRON: At the close of the session last evening we were engaged in the election of International Delegate.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is in order.

DEL. HERRON: I make a motion that the candidate receiving the highest number of votes be considered the delegate, and the candidate receiving the next highest the alternate.

THE CHAIRMAN: Unless there is objection that will be the order.

No objection was heard.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): There seem to be many delegates absent this morning, and owing to the lateness of their arrival I will make a motion that the vote be held open till 10 o'clock in order to give those now absent an opportunity to vote; that the vote close at 10 o'clock, until which time votes can be handed in at any time. And I move to suspend the rules for that purpose.

Motion seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first order of business is the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

DEL. FLOATEN (Colo.): Mr.

Chairman, I desire to present a communication from Local Denver.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection we will read the communication from Denver before the report.

Secretary Dobbs read the communication referred to, as follows:

"To the National Convention of the Socialist party:

"Comrades: The following resolution was adopted by Local Denver at its regular business meeting held April 27, 1904:

"Whereas, there is among Socialists in the United States a difference of opinion upon the question of what is known as the immediate demands; and

"Whereas, we as Socialists have no clearly defined program to guide us in the transition from the capitalist system to the co-operative or collective system; and

"Whereas, from this time forward we may expect to elect an increasing number of Socialists to membership in municipal councils and state legislatures, who will be compelled to act upon public questions in their official capacity; and

"Whereas, there being no municipal or legislative program endorsed officially by the Socialist party, such representatives must be guided each by his own personal judgment or by peculiar local conditions, and hence be liable to err, and thus hinder the work of the party and subject himself and the party to adverse criticism; and

"Whereas, the party should not place such responsibility upon its representatives, but should prepare a definite, specific program and then hold its representatives to a strict responsibility in their official acts in accordance therewith; therefore, be it

"Resolved, That we, the members of Local Denver in regular session assembled, do hereby memorialize

and petition the National Convention of the Socialist party to appoint or elect a committee of three of its most able and judicious members to prepare a municipal and legislative program, said program to be submitted to a referendum vote of the entire party membership for adoption, and if ratified by a majority of all members voting thereon said program shall become a part of the official platform of the Socialist party."

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection the communication will be received and placed on file.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I move that it be referred to the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection it will be referred to the proper committee. Comrade Untermann has a report from the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

Report of Committee on State and Municipal Program.

DEL. UNTERMANN, on behalf of the Committee: Pursuant to instructions from this convention, your Committee on State and Municipal Program received the report of the permanent Municipal Committee elected by the Indianapolis Convention. That permanent Committee had taken great care in elaborating a municipal program, and your committee feels that the dispatch with which we have been able to do this work was due in great measure to the careful working which the permanent committee had chosen for the making of this municipal report, and we feel that the thanks of your committee are due to the permanent committee elected by the Indianapolis convention, and especially to its secretary, Comrade A. M. Simons. The greater part of the report of the permanent committee is embodied in the report of your committee here. The State Program is the main work which your present committee has done. I now proceed to read the report which your committee submits to you. You will notice from the reading that certain slight changes have been made from the printed copy, and I would suggest that you make notes of it when I come to the passages, so that we may all be able to discuss the question when it comes up for discussion.

Delegate Untermann then read the report, which will be found in the Appendix.

DEL. UNTERMANN (at the conclusion of the reading): I move that the report be adopted. Seconded.

DEL. FORD (Minn.): I move that this whole thing be laid on the table.

DEL. WILL (Kan.): I rise to second the motion to adopt the report as a whole.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the committee's report be accepted and adopted. Comrade Untermann has the floor.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): Hasn't 10 o'clock arrived, the hour for voting on International Delegates?

THE CHAIRMAN: It has. You will please prepare your ballots. The candidates are Hillquit, Untermann and Simons.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): A point of information. Has it not been decided by this convention that we shall elect one man and then submit the vote to a referendum?

THE CHAIRMAN: I cannot tell you. I will inquire of the Secretary. —There was no such provision made.

DEL. DALTON: I desire at this point to make a motion that the three names be submitted as the nominees of this convention, recommended to the Socialist party as candidates for Delegates to the International Congress.

THE CHAIRMAN: Then your motion is to suspend the rules and substitute. The rules provide for election by the convention. You must make a motion, if you wish to do that, to suspend the rules.

DEL. DALTON: That was the point of information that I asked. Then I make a motion to suspend the rules for purpose of this motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: And you mean to refer these to a referendum?

DEL. DALTON: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any second to the motion?

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the rules be suspended and that the three names on the blackboard be referred to a referendum of the party for a vote, the one receiving the highest vote to be the delegate, and the next one the alternate.

DEL. HERRON: The majority of the members of the various branches will not understand the question as to

the International Delegate nearly as well as the members of this convention. The matter was here debated, and such information or instructions as will be given upon the question was given here, and the intention is here to get a representation that is consistent on just such questions as these. If the matter is referred to a referendum, it will, between now and the middle of July, when the delegate must leave, or perhaps the first of July even, be practically impossible to get any adequate result, or to get any result that will be nearly as representative of an expression of the party's mind as in this convention here assembled.

DEL. DALTON: It appears to me that the names on the blackboard and the activity of those delegates in the party are sufficiently well known outside of this convention to the membership of the party that they can vote intelligently on this question. It appears further to me that this thing of submitting one man's name to the membership of the party for a referendum vote is a farce. If you are going to elect a man to the International Congress, elect him, and then don't go to a referendum with his name. There is no reason for all this haste. Before the middle of July you can get an expression of the party's opinion. The Socialist press will be in the hands of the membership before the end of next week in all parts of the country, telling them who these candidates are. It does not take very long for them to decide. They will decide according to the activity of these men, according to their active service in the party, according to their qualifications, and I claim that the membership is a good and sane judge of these matters. If we are going to have referendums, if we are going to preserve the principles of democracy, let us set the example ourselves.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I want to reiterate what I said on the subject of the referendum at an earlier stage in the proceedings of this convention. On all questions on which the referendum principle can be practically effective I shall vote in favor of the referendum principle, but I submit that in the selection of men to do given work none are better qualified to cast intelligent votes than those who have been in these men in person, and who are familiar with all the qualifications they may possess. It is not sufficient to know a man

by the accounts of him. It is not sufficient to know of a man that his name frequently appears in the Socialist press. It is a fact that if this motion carries and we go to our respective constituencies, our respective locals will depend upon us who have been to this convention to tell them what we think of the respective merits of these candidates for this office, and that simply means that the delegates here will cast the vote of the membership just the same as they will do, only in more concrete and more intelligent and practical form, if this motion is voted down and we select our people here. We are fully competent to elect our candidates for President and Vice-President of the International Union. We are equally as competent to elect our delegates to the International Socialist Conference, and we are violating no fundamental principle of our referendum when we decide upon doing that, and for that reason I submit that we ought to vote down this proposition and proceed with the election.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Texas): I desire to endorse what Comrade Herman has said, and add that I cannot understand why we should incur an additional expense and waste of time in this manner. As Comrade Sieverman properly says, it will devolve upon the delegates here, anyway, and the various locals will ask our opinion of the men, and it is a waste of time. We ought not to place ourselves in the attitude of delaying when we have a chance to act on things coming up here. Let us decide on all the things we can, and save time and labor.

DEL. FORD (Minn.): I rise to a point of order. It is that we voted to proceed to vote on the candidates at 10 o'clock, and that the man receiving the highest number of votes should be declared elected.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is true, but you can always vote to suspend the rules.

DEL. FORD: But we have not done that.

THE CHAIRMAN: I beg your pardon, that was the motion of the comrade from Illinois.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): I wish to ask for information. By the statement of the Comrade on my left that one name would be sent out to a referendum at the party.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is that the three on the board be sent to a referendum. Now, you made an argument, while you rose to a point of information, to ask a question.

DEL. TAFT: My question is this: Will the name of the person, the one of the three who is elected here this morning, be sent out to a referendum?

THE CHAIRMAN: There has been no motion to do that, up to the present time.

DEL. PARKS: I move the previous question.

THE CHAIRMAN: You cannot rise for that purpose. Comrade Gaylord has the floor.

DEL. GAYLORD: I was satisfied with what Comrade Sieverman said on the subject of the referendum. It should be employed only at the proper time and in the right place.

DEL. MAURER (Pa.): I agree with the amendment. I wish these Comrades to distinctly understand that this body does not constitute the brains of the Socialist party by any means. My opinion on this matter is that the Comrades at large know just as well who to select as this body does, and I approve of that amendment.

Delegate Parks moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now revert to the main question on the substitute for the suspension of the rules and the submission of the three names on the blackboard to a referendum vote, the highest to be the delegate and the next to be the alternate.

The substitute was defeated.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now proceed to ballot.

Here Vice-Chairman Wilkins took the Chair, and the vote on International Delegate was taken up. Pending the announcement of the vote, Delegate Untermyer, on behalf of the State and Municipal Program Committee, addressed the convention.

URBATE ON PROPOSED STATE AND MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

DEL. UTERMANN: To anticipate possible criticism and to dispatch the work of this convention, I beg leave to make a few remarks in introducing the subject and justifying the report of your committee. In the first place, it seems to me there can hardly be any discussion of the question that such a program is necessary at the present crit-

ical moment. Most probably we shall elect some comrades to state legislatures this fall. We already have elected quite a number to local administrations, and in various localities difficulties have arisen from the very fact that the comrades so elected did not have a program and did not know how to proceed along proletarian lines. If there is any possibility of any difference of opinion on this point it can only be on the question, "shall we give them a certain set of instructions now, or shall we wait till we have elected a large number and give them a program when they ask for it?" To me it seems that it is much better to provide in advance for the demand for instructions which we know will come, instead of waiting until the necessity for instructions arises. We, the convention assembled here, are much more likely to agree on a general outline of suggestions by which our candidates may be guided than are the membership at large scattered over an enormous territory, with all the difficulties attending such a situation. In the second place, I wish to emphasize once more the fact that all the various positions and suggestions contained in the report of your committee are nothing but suggestions, and are not in any way mandatory or binding on any local administration or on any state, so long as we believe in the principle of local autonomy, and this convention has affirmed it. The National Committee has no power and this convention has no power to make any of these outlines mandatory. We realize, however, that a great number of states have already declared in favor of these suggestions and asked this convention and asked the National Committee to give them a certain set of instructions by which they may be guided in their activity in the local and state administrations. In the third place, I wish to justify the formulation of this report. It may have seemed to a good many of you that your committee took a long time to get this report before the convention, and that when it finally came it was very voluminous. As one delegate said, there was so much room on the back of it that we might at least have printed on the back of it a municipal bill of fare. Well, we might have done it if we could have agreed on a bill of fare. But the reason for making this report as voluminous as it is and for giving it the

form of general suggestions, was this: We realized that we would not come before this convention until very late, at a time when the delegates would be tired and would wish to go home, and we did not want this work to be considered in a rush. It is very important that every passage of this report should be well considered because it must stand for at least four years unless amended by referendum, which would be very difficult; and for this reason your committee took great pains to go minutely over every single section, discussing it sentence by sentence and position by position, until we all unanimously agreed; and the fact that we could agree, although we represented so many different elements of the party, it seems to me should be an indication that this convention also should be able to agree unanimously on this report. (Applause.) Therefore we found it necessary to outline in a general way all the points that we thought would be met in talking with the workers by our elected comrades, and we used the form that we took in this report because we realized that any suggestions which we might make could only be general and not very detailed, and these suggestions we have given in such shape that they would form good propaganda material for our elected candidates in their class struggle in parliament. And therefore every single position has been worded so that our candidates if elected can make it the basis for fighting the class struggle in local administrations and state administrations, and clearly set forth the proletarian standpoint in every bill that they introduce. Without retaining any longer, and in coming to a conclusion I only wish to say a final word about methods of discussion. I have missed very much, in the course of the various discussions which we have had here, that fraternal spirit which should pervade the Socialist party. (Applause.) Personal animosity has entered into the discussions without any need, and has clouded the judgment of the delegates and made it impossible to discuss many of these great matters on their merits. If the materialistic conception of history in which we all believe teaches us anything it is this, that we are all creatures of our environments, and that if we differ in our ideas it is simply because we come from different environments. But this Socialist party of ours

is an open forum; it is the melting pot in which these various differences of opinion can be thrown and melted into a mighty arm, and I hope that this convention which has just unanimously adopted the platform will unanimously adopt this report. (Applause.) I believe that the unanimous adoption of this report, as well as the unanimous adoption of your platform, will show to the world at large that the Socialist philosophy is not a basis for a materialistic philosophy, but is simply the affirmation of a new faith, the faith in the all-conquering power of the human brain, backed up by the Socialist philosophy. And in asking you to thus unanimously adopt the report, I am simply asking you to consider the moral effect which its adoption will have on the world at large. (Applause.)

At this point the Secretary announced the vote on International Delegate, as follows: Untermann, 57; Hillquit, 52; Simons, 32.

No name having a clear majority, a new ballot was ordered.

THE SECRETARY: According to the rule adopted the name lowest in the list will be dropped out, and the voting now will be on Untermann and Hillquit.

THE CHAIRMAN: Proceed to take a vote.

DEL. BRANDT (Mo.): I want the floor to offer an amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: You cannot get the floor on that ground. We will take a vote. While we are taking the vote I will make an explanation which will save a good deal of confusion. When the delegates rise in their different order, if they will just give their names I will mark their names on a slip, and then they will be called in order. In that way it will be unnecessary for five or six to take the floor. I will take them in their order and mark their names, and then as I put down their names they will be recognized and will be called. That will be the process.

The following delegates presented their names for the purpose of being placed on the Chairman's list: Ford (Minn.), Irene Smith (Ore.), Walsh (Mont.), Cogswell (Kan.), Dalton (Ill.), Lucas (Minn.), Parks (Kan.), Rose (Miss.), Mills, (Kan.).

DEL. WALSH (Mont.): I do not

think it is necessary to take much time. I offer an amendment to the whole report. There can only be one dividing line here. But I will read the motion first, and then I want to say just a few words and all here will understand it thoroughly. I want to substitute for this whole report the following:

"The National Convention recommends that in the event of any Socialists being elected in any localities on state or municipal tickets, that they be guided thereafter in all their legislative acts by consulting, 'Is the legislation in the interest of the laboring class?' If so, I am for it; if not, I am opposed to it."

Now, I do not see where this committee could have got this report that is offered here, except they might have clipped the last page from the Chicago American. (Applause.) It is ridiculous from start to finish. It is impossible to talk about it. It is ridiculous to recommend such a program as that to go over the United States. When you go into its details and the inconsistencies and the foolish whims, it is impossible for anybody to ferret it out. If you elect Socialists who have got to be guided by such a thing or suggestion as this you have not elected Socialists, and you had better keep them away from Montana. There is one city in Montana already where we elected Socialists, and where, while technically they are not in a majority, they are to a certain degree. They have continued to follow practices of the old politicians, in licensing prostitutes and licensing gamblers and turning affairs into a graft profit system. I say this, that we, as Socialists, cannot recommend such things as those. You cannot recommend such a silly program as this. We would not follow it, nor would any Socialist attempt to follow it. We might as well take it for a hat rack. There is no one but the Committee that could be guided by it. In the name of Heaven, I wonder how they could have done anything like this, except, as I say, they could have got the last page of Hearst's Chicago American and attached it on here. He advocates all these things. He tells you how to run these things, and it is impossible to show many reasons for not following him. If this was followed out, the plan you would have a program longer

than the Chinese Bible. And so I say the motion stands in this house this morning on this proposition. Are we for the sentimental demands contained in this proposition, or are we for the rock of Socialism that stands for principles? (Applause.) Let us get on the right line. Let us get on the right rock, and go home, and don't let us go home until we go there right. There is no use in electing a class of 3 by a Socialists who, when they are in office, don't know what to do. If we are going to elect men that don't know what to do, who can't pass laws in the interests of the laboring people, for God's sake let the old parties elect them; we don't want to elect them. (Applause.)

DEL. FORD (Minn.): I simply rise at this time to second that motion.

At this point Secretary Dobbs announced the result of the last ball on International Delegate, as follows:

Untermann, 80; Hillquit, 61.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Untermann is elected Delegate and Comrade Hillquit will act as alternate. Now, it has been moved and seconded that the substitute declaring that we are in favor of everything in the interest of the working class, instead of having a program, be adopted in place of the whole report. The next speaker is Comrade Smith.

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Ore.): It seems to me that we, as intelligent men and women, can look at this question this morning in a calm, clear, intelligent manner. I know that every Socialist on this floor this morning wants that which is for the best good of the Socialist movement. I know I do, with all my soul. It is the Socialist movement we are working for, first, foremost, and forever, and from that standpoint I want to speak just a few words to you this morning. If we were about to elect our President and Vice-President, if we had to-day the senates of all of the states filled with our people, and if we thought we were about to have control of the government of this great country, this program then would be in perfect order with the situation. This program then would be probably just what the Socialists would undertake to carry into execution. But, comrades, remember that we are a little minority faction in a small political faction in a great political field, with no

possibility of finding any work. To do what? To patch up this old system? Why, no, comrades. The work of the Socialist party of the world is not to patch up the old system; it is to inaugurate a new system (applause)—a new system, comrades; and this platform as it stands to-day represents patches to be placed upon the old system. You do not say here anything about the system being wrong, but you go to work and you give us so many patches to put onto the worn old system of the old system. Now, what we want is a complete new system of government under which to work, and when we have the new system of government all of these things will follow as a matter of course. Now, comrades, this is what I say: I say, if we go out and carry to the people this lengthy program of promises that you know as well as I it would be absolutely impossible for us to carry out, you know we are but gathering the floating sentiments of the people and you know that that vote is always reactionary upon our movement. We do not want our men elected to the senate halls of this country by a vote excited by the sentiment of that paper. We want the men elected to our legislative halls with the one sole motive behind them, and that motive the complete destruction of the capitalist system. (Applause.) That is what we are working for. And, comrades, do not let your prejudice stand in the way, but stop and think for a moment, and realize that we have now before us a campaign wherein we will reach the ears of thousands and hundreds of thousands of the workers of this country. Let us go before them in this campaign not with silly platitudes and promises that we cannot fulfill, but let us go before them as the revolutionary party that we represent, carrying to them the way out of all of these difficulties into a complete realization of what the right civilization ought to be. It is the system that is wrong, comrades. The Socialist party and all of their program has to do with the changing of the system of governments of the world, and when that is done all these minor ills will naturally settle themselves. (Applause.) While I stand to-day with you here and will try if I can to uphold the will of the majority, yet as a minority vote I do again ask of you men and women to consider well the confusing condi-

tions or the confusing effect that this will have upon the minds of the voters if it is carried here to-day. We must act intelligently and not for the moment, not for the mere getting of a few little demands. No, this party does not stand for that. This party stands for the wiping out forever of this system of accursed wage slavery that is the bottom, the basic principle upon which capitalism rests, and when that is done and capitalism is wiped off the face of the earth, we can then institute a program that will bring not only these blessings, but a million times more, into the homes and lives of our fellow beings. (Applause.)

DEL CGSWELL (Kan.): Comrades, I feel that at this moment a woman should answer a woman. I stand for the immediate demands, or rather for placing the immediate demands in our program. In the past I have opposed immediate demands because they were only here and there enforced or thought of in many places. Without any direct program the most ridiculous claims were written out for us as workers to take up and advocate and stand for. I opposed in a most bitter way a constitution in a state a short time ago because it went beyond what I thought was fair or was what would be possible to have the people understand or the people stand for. I opposed it not because it was a program, but because it was simply one state. I then advocated, most strongly and strenuously that we as members of the National Convention should take some stand that will guide us in the future in our state and municipal work. You go into one state to speak in a campaign for the candidates on your state or municipal ticket, and you find some of the most ridiculous things written out that you have to stand for. (Applause.) I opposed having such a nonsensical lot of stuff everywhere, one conflicting with the other. If we are going to stand together as a well-organized party we want to have the head and strongest part of our party our guide; that is our National Convention. If we have this program it is not mandatory; it is not compelling us to do this or that, but it is a guide, and is a guide from the most intelligent people in our movement. (Applause.) Comrades, we do not need, we women or men either—it is not necessary for us to come before you to-day

and tell you what Socialism is or what Socialism stands for. (Applause.) Certainly not. I give you more credit for intelligence than that I should come here and tell you that we are working in a class struggle, or tell you that we want the co-operative commonwealth. You know it. (Applause.) But is it necessary that we should go without clothes or go in rags until we get the co-operative commonwealth? Is it necessary, because our clothes are old and worn, that we should not make that motion if we cannot get a new suit? Comrades, we want the co-operative commonwealth, and you and I know it, but besides that we want some guiding program that will lead the man that does not know what we want to do what we want. (Applause.) If we can clearly say, we as Socialist workers, that we do not need a guiding program for ourselves, we are certainly an intelligent enough body of people to understand what we are speaking for, but we do want the average working man or working woman that has no time to go into these things to, in a comprehensive way, be able to sum up some of the things that the Socialists expect to give them in the future and are trying to give them what they can in the present. That is all we ask. We do not call this the real Socialist object, the real idea of what we are going to have when we have the co-operative commonwealth. This is simply what you might call a propaganda pamphlet, if you will, something to teach the people that we are doing this for the children and that for the women of this nation that are down-trodden and abused for ages; something that will give us some idea of what we want for the working people. It is not something that you should read it; it is something for the people that we need it. (Applause.) I heard it said that we were milksofs because we had enough to live on. We are not milksofs, comrades, we are giving our life and energy and all we possess to help the man that cannot help himself, and to make the women of this nation a credit to this nation. (Applause.) I move that you have this program. It is a grand help to the workers that go out from state to state working in a comprehensive way, instead of in ordinary places here and there meeting the greatest number of absurdities, the most ridiculous things called programs, with

the most ridiculous claims and nonsense, instead of standing for something consistent and practicable. We do not advocate state Socialism or municipal Socialism, but we are only pointing to what we can do in all the states—and all the states means the nation. (Applause.)

DEL DALTON (Ill.): Comrade Chairman and delegates, I had intended to move an amendment to discuss this paragraph by paragraph. The substitute, however, is what we are speaking to, and I will make that motion. I did not understand just what the chairman would rule, or whether he would give me another chance at it, so with your kind permission I shall now proceed to sing this. (Laughter.) I thought yesterday when I read the platform that we had become a fully American movement because we have got the American dictionary into our platform, all of it. I find to-day we have become American and International, because we have got the International Encyclopedia added to it for our program. (Laughter and applause.) I do not know whether they seriously meant this or not. They come to us and say this is neither mandatory nor obligatory, and they are afraid to add that it is not purgatory. It certainly is going to be pretty tough on the poor fellow, and he will certainly earn his thousand dollars a year if he gets it by learning this game of pinging program and immediate demands. (Laughter.) I am going to amend that he be compelled to learn to whistle and teach it to the rest of us. What does it mean if it is not obligatory or mandatory? What has this convention got to do if it is merely suggestive? We are not a suggestive body. We are here to legislate. We are here to make laws. We are here to lay down the law for the party, so much so that it has been said on the floor here that we are the competent ones to decide everything from International Delegate down to what kind of public houses we shall have in Podunk. It means nothing, according to their statement. Well, if it means nothing, then why do they bring it before this convention? Why, if they consider this wise, why didn't this permanent Municipal Program Committee try it by submitting it to the Socialist press and have it circulated throughout the United States for the next four years for the information of the Socialists? They tell us that it is not a pro-

246

Morning Session, May 6.

paganda document. It is a sort of esoteric thing which the thousand-dollars-a-year Secretary is going to deal out to us. I want to discuss one thing here, and as I am not a parliamentarian, I want the Chairman to be a little lenient with me. They tell us in Section D—

DEL. BROWER (Ill.): I rise to a point of order. The question is on the Substitute motion of the delegate from Wyoming. He proposes to take up this matter and bring out what he wants. I ask for a decision on the question. I submit to this convention that the question is on the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it is perfectly proper for members to point out objections. He is speaking against the whole thing. If he has any particular thing it is all right. What I think, above everything else, should be done, is to leave the fairest possible discussion of the entire matter to its merits. (Applause.) There are a good many who have changed their minds upon this subject in the last few years in Chicago, and I think there will be many others in the country, and I think we ought to consider at least one section with some attention. I therefore hope the previous question will not be moved until it has been thoroughly thrashed out.

DEL. DALTON: I am going to ask you not to take that off my time. We realize on this side that we are up against it. We realize that this is a municipal program, state program and all the rest of it in the convention, and as far as the majority is concerned, we do not hope to win. We hope, however, to point out how eminently useless this thing is, and if we do take up the time of the convention, remember we do not trust this on you. None on this side, whatever crimes they have committed, have ever drawn up a blanket like that. But there is one section here, Section D, on the Committee on State and Municipal Affairs, providing that the National Committee shall elect a secretary whose compensation shall be fixed by the National Executive Committee. Now we have a National Secretary. That National Secretary has certain specific duties to perform. We have a National Executive Committee and over that stands the National Committee. We have a Lecture Bureau and a Literature Bureau. All of them have certain duties and certain powers as strictly

defined as we could define them. Here comes a committee with a salary attached. It is not attached to, it is taken off and given to another committee and a salary attached to the National Secretary and the expenses of this committee. Now I submit in all seriousness, comrades, that if this thing contains anything that is good, if it is not at the same time mandatory, if it is merely suggestive, there is absolutely no reason why the Socialist party should be charged any expenses or any salary. If these men, giving them the credit that I will give an opponent—if they mean that seriously for the Socialist party, why do they not withdraw all these provisions that look like looting the treasury? Why do they not withdraw it and say, "Comrades, we want to make certain suggestions to you and to all members of the Socialist party. We know that there is a difference of opinion. We want to put our ideas in concrete terms and we want to have them in the Socialist press so as to get across to the Socialist members, and in that way leave the rest of it to the intelligence of the rank and file." Would that not have answered every purpose? And every purpose that would subvert the cause of Socialism? I submit that to your consideration. Another thing under the heading, "State Program," find down here that they tell us that under present circumstances the work of the Socialist movement in the state legislature must necessarily be confined to efforts for the realization of such limited measures as they may be able to wrest from capitalist concessions. That sounds like good sense. They go down further here and say, "They must defend the interest of the working-class against the encroachments of the capitalist class, and decline in their parliamentary work any trading with capitalist representatives for favorable legislation." It has been again and again affirmed on this floor that every representative not elected by the Socialists and not under the control of our organization must necessarily be the representative of the capitalist class. How in the name of all that is sensible and parliamentary can they possibly wrest anything as Socialist representatives of the working class in parliaments where the class struggle takes on the shape of compromise, necessarily takes on the

shape of concessions? How can they wrest power if you at the same time tell them, "You must not do any log-rolling or any trading with the capitalist members at all?" The thing is absurd on the face of it. You cannot disconnect it. You must consider every part or you must take the position for which we have been censured, the impossibilist position. You must go in there and fight there as Socialists. Then, if you are in the majority you can go in there and take something from them. If you are not in the majority you must seek to make trades with them. And you will come to that. The motion to substitute by the comrade from Montana is to my mind the best measure that can be adopted by this convention, for the reason that if there is anything concrete in this you do not lose it. You get the chance to offer these as you say you have been doing for the past year. You get the chance to show to these people who are to be elected some things that they can do, and at the same time you avoid the danger of setting up a sort of cabinet bureau and something to entail expense on the Socialist party. For that reason I claim that the adoption of this thing at this time, as suggested, will suggest only one thing to the rank and file. They will overlook whatever may be good in it. They will simply say, if they would have a perfect right to say—it suggests simply that the immediate programmers wanted to set up a machinery that would entail exorbitant expense. Will you allow him to make that statement?

DEL. BERTHA WILKINS (Cal.): A point of information. I would like to know what Comrade Untermann's reasons are, as a German, as a student of International Socialism: I would like to know how he came to go over on the side of the opportunists. Will you allow him to make that statement?

THE CHAIRMAN: I could only do it by unanimous consent of the house.

DELEGATES: Consent.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): No, I will object at this time, as taking up my time.

THE CHAIRMAN: Very well; proceed.

DEL. PARKS: Comrades, I am no orator. I only talk about things that I know about, and I have no right to go

before the American public and talk about things that I do not know about. So, my friends, I simply talk straight forward talk. You all know I am from Kansas. A Kansas poet has said that human hopes and human creeds have their roots in human needs, and I suppose that there is a great human need for this program which has come before us this morning, which some call great and which others call not so great. My friends, we have unanimously adopted our platform. Some of the committee on the platform openly boast that their immediate demands are concealed under that platform. A comrade came to me off that committee yesterday who was state secretary in the state of Kansas, one of the men who was back of this major platform in the state of Kansas where I led a fight in our convention to its defeat, and told me it was an absolute victory for this majority platform that was proposed by seven out of eight in the Platform Committee in the Kansas convention. Now, my friends, I want to tell you what is in that majority platform, and if this is a victory for that majority platform in Kansas, I should have voted against the other, the platform that we voted on yesterday. But at the same time I did not vote against that platform because I understood that we were going to have another committee report and I was silent when the vote was taken yesterday. I did not have my approval either one way or the other because I had not had an opportunity to talk upon that platform. Now that majority platform in Kansas stands for the public ownership of monopolies, not interstate in character, including city building sites, telegraphs, telephones and electric railways for cities and states; water, lighting and power plants, with service furnished at cost; public industries, including department stores, lead and zinc mines, and oil, gas and salt wells, their products to be furnished to Kansans at cost. Over here it says: "They can provide for the farmer grain elevators, stock yards, packing houses, telegraphs, freight transportation within the state, and loans of money at cost. They can elect a board of railway commissioners with full power to fix rates. They can unite farm to town by good roads and electric car lines and telephones, provided by the state and furnished at cost. They can enlarge and improve, at state

expense, the work of the Kansas experiment station, and enlist the full power of the state in securing the long desired outlet, by rail or canal, to the Gulf of Mexico," etc. Then following that paragraph comes this paragraph: "The Socialists of Kansas stand for each and all of these beneficent measures, and appeal to the wealth producers of this state to aid them in their attainment." Comrades, I absolutely opposed such a program in the state of Kansas, and I submitted and championed this minority report, which contains the following provision: "The Socialist party, when in office, shall always and everywhere, until the present system of wage slavery is utterly abolished, make the answer to this question its guiding rule of conduct; will this legislation advance the interests of the working class and aid the workers in their class struggle against capitalism? If it does, the Socialist Party is for it; if it does not, the Socialist Party is absolutely opposed to it."

DEL. DILNO (Mo.): A point of order. He is not discussing the question before the house. The platform of Kansas is not up for discussion.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is true, but a man can talk about even the Manifesto.

DEL. PARKS: I will say that we adopted a clear-cut strictly revolutionary platform in Kansas by referendum, and we defeated that kind of a proposition that you have here. I will talk hastily. The Declaration of Independence says that while evils are sufferable people are disposed to bear them rather than rise in rebellion against them. Now in 1848 when the Communist Manifesto was written, the Socialist movement in Europe was a popular middle-class movement, and it was called the Socialist movement for that reason. I will read from page 7 of the introduction by Frederick Engels:

Yet, when it was written we could not have called it a Socialist Manifesto. By Socialists, in 1847, were understood, on the one hand, the adherents of the various Utopian systems: Owenites in England, Fourierists in France, both of them already reduced to the position of mere sects, and gradually dying out; on the other hand, the most multifarious social quacks, who, by all manner of tinkering,

professed to redress, without any danger to capital and profit, all sorts of social grievances, in both cases men outside the working class movement and looking rather to the "educational" classes for support. Whatever portion of the working class had become convinced of the insufficiency of mere political revolutions, and had proclaimed the necessity of a total social Communist. It was a crude, rough-hewn, purely instinctive sort of Communism; still, it touched the cardinal point and was powerful enough amongst the working class to produce the Utopian Communism, in France, of Cabet, and in Germany, of Weitling. Thus, Socialism was, in 1847, a middle class movement, Communism a working class movement. Socialism was, on the continent at least, "respectable." Communism was the very opposite.

But this Communist Manifesto contains a program in Section II. of it, and the reason I favor this report of the committee this morning is—and I expect to be able to make it plain why it is that Comrade Untermann is in favor of the adoption of this program—that as to Section II. of this Communist Manifesto Frederick Engels says:

No special stress is laid on the revolutionary measures proposed at the end of Section II. That passage would, in many respects, be very differently touched to-day. In view of the gigantic strides of modern industry since 1848, and of the accompanying improved and extended organization of the working class, in view of the practical experience gained, first in the February revolution, and then still more in the Paris Commune, where the proletariat for the first time held political power for two whole months, this program has in some details become antiquated. One thing especially was proved by the Commune, viz., that "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machinery and wield it for its own purposes." Further, it is self-evident that the criticism of Socialist literature is deficient in relation to the present time, because it comes down only to 1847; also that the remarks on the relations of the Communists to the various opposition par-

ties, although in principle still correct, yet in practice are antiquated, because the political situation has been entirely changed, and the progress of history has swept from off the earth the greater portion of the political parties there enumerated. But then, the Manifesto has become a historical document, which we have no longer any right to alter.

It contains a whole lot of what we call immediate demands. Now, my friends, I do not favor this program for the reason that it offers a platform. I believe we ought to have a platform of principles, and we ought to have a program, a reasonable appeal to attract attention and bring into our movement men who will become the class-conscious masses of our party. I am in favor of the adoption of this program for propaganda work. I believe our appeal to people ought to be upon principles, but we need a program. Comrades, I would consider it a misfortune, I would consider it a calamity, if I should be elected to any office by the Socialist Party of America and we had no such program as this to back me up. We do not want to make the program our basis of appeal while we are going out making propaganda speeches. Let us preach the doctrine of the class-struggle, economic determinism and surplus value, and then we can point to our program showing what we may do. Now we want to read from Labor who was the author of the Essays on the Materialistic Conception of History. In the first essay he comments upon the Communist Manifesto, and this great Italian, who died a few weeks ago, says on page 10 of his book: "We surely would be taking a false road if we regarded as the essential part of the measure proposed at the end of the second chapter" (speaking of the Communist Manifesto) "for the contingency of a revolutionary success on the part of the proletariat." That is, if we should take it as the essential thing, Comrades, I believe a platform of principles is the essential thing for the Socialist Party, and then we need such a working program as we have here from this committee. This necessity is shown again in case of our political relationship to the other revolutionary parties of Germany, Japan and elsewhere. I am going to take up this program and show what we have in it. This program, if you will

notice over here, says: "The work of Socialist members of state legislatures and local administrations, under present circumstances, must necessarily be confined to efforts for the realization of such limited measures as they may be able to wrest from the capitalist majority for the benefit and in the interest of the working class." We stand at all times for the interests of the working class. I say they must defend the interest of the working class against the encroachments of the capitalist class, and decline, in parliamentary work, any trading with capitalists or their representatives for favorable legislation. And then one more sentence and I will be through. All measures are to be considered in the light of their bearing on the working class. This will prepare the working people for their part in the class struggle by increasing their intelligence and independence and be considered as so many weapons for the winning of their victory. I hope you will unanimously adopt this program that has been submitted by our committee.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): Does the Chair keep a list of the speakers?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, just as they stand up and ask for the floor I mark their names down.

DEL. SLOBODIN: You have not got my name.

THE CHAIRMAN: If you would stand and ask for the floor, I would mark your name down in regular order.

DEL. SLOBODIN: I ask for the floor.

DEL. BENESSI (Mich.): I ask for the floor.

THE CHAIRMAN: All right. Comrade Carr has the floor.

DEL. DEBS (Ind.): I would like to ask why Comrade Untermann cannot be heard in his own behalf?

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Untermann spoke originally in the opening, and he is entitled to the floor only once to speak upon the question unless there is unanimous consent or the rules are suspended, one or the other, and there was an objection because Comrade Parks was entitled to the floor at the time.

DEL. DEBS: It seems to me we could afford to suspend the rules to relieve the comrade of what must be re-

garded as a very unfortunate position. I think Comrade Untermann, if a suspension of the rules is necessary, ought to be heard in his own behalf.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is a motion to suspend the rules, I will entertain it, or if it is the unanimous consent of the house.

DELEGATES: Consent.

THE CHAIRMAN: Is there any objection to Comrade Untermann answering the question which was asked him as to what caused his change from the revolutionary European position to that of favoring a program?

DELEGATES: No.

THE CHAIRMAN: Please state your question.

DELEGATE BERTHA WILKINS: I would like to ask Delegate Untermann, in view of the Dresden Conference, after that struggle with the opportunists, how do you stand for this platform, with its opportunism?

DEL. UTERMANN: I can only answer that I have not changed my position. My position has been before the Socialist Party of the United States since I have been a member of it, and that is since the Indianapolis convention, and ever since that time, in print and speech, I have declared for a strictly scientific declaration of principle as our campaign platform, and the separation of a working program from that platform, and in so doing I have in no way abandoned the revolutionary standpoint of the Socialist parties of the world. (Applause.) This same question has agitated all the Socialist parties from the very beginning. In 1869, when Comrades August Bebel and William Liebknecht were first elected to the Bundestag of the North German Alliance, that question was urged for the first time, and Comrade Liebknecht's idea fully coincided with the idea of our present impossibilist friends. He said: "I will tell you what we will do. We will walk into the North German Bund and protest and walk out again." But Bebel said: "No, hold on a minute. I am going to walk in, and I am going to stay there, and I am going to fight the capitalists in there, if I am the only Socialist member in parliament." (Applause.) In 1878 it became an absolute necessity for all the Socialist elements in Germany to unite, because it was

now a question of either assisting the bourgeoisie or being absolutely overriden by the government. As you know, the labor movement proper in Germany had been created by Lassalle and propagated by the Lassalleans; and their standpoint was that now held by the American capitalists who believe in state capitalism. But when the Lassalleans recognized that even their life depended on uniting with the Marxian wing, it was Toelke, I believe, wasn't it—

DEL. JONAS: Yes, it was Toelke.

DEL. UTERMANN:—who came and said, "We must get together." And Liebknecht said, "All right, we must get together and unite on a common platform," and a common platform was written. And who edited it? The same comrade who several years prior to this had adopted that impossible position, but had been converted to the other position by practical experience in parliament—William Liebknecht. Again, a few years after, in 1878, when the Socialist Party of Germany was threatened with absolute destruction by the passage of the anti-Socialist laws, they reaffirmed the platform in principle, and Karl Marx was very wrathful at the position they had taken because he had not arrived at the same standpoint that Liebknecht had in 1869, and he wrote a very wrathful letter to Liebknecht, to which Liebknecht replied, "My dear Marx, you are living in England, and you do not know what is good for Germany. We are making this fight here, and with all due deference to your judgment, we are going to keep to our position." So the Socialist Party of Germany continued to retain the immediate demands in the platform, a thing for which I do not stand in the United States, because, as the Communist Manifesto plainly says, the application of these measures depends entirely on the economic and political situation of each country. The platform which we have adopted contains immediate demands, but they are embodied in that platform in such a form that they are acceptable to me, because in order to find them you have got to look for them with a microscope. Even our impossibilist friends did not know that they were in there until I called their attention to it, and if they cannot see them I would like to know how the man on the street will see them. (Applause.) Our im-

mediate-demand friends think they stole a march on us, because we forced them to put the immediate demands into the body of the platform, and I am glad, and they are glad, and we are all satisfied, and everything is lovely and the goose hangs high. (Applause.) Now, you might just as well say that Marx changed his revolutionary position because on the Communist Manifesto in which he had embodied a long string of immediate demands, by writing that Brunswick letter. But he did not abandon any revolutionary principle in changing his opinion in this matter of tactics. Moreover, he again changed his mind on this point, for in the eighties of the last century, when the Parti Ouvrier Francais wanted a scientific platform, Guesde and Lafargue got together and invited Karl Marx to write a platform for the party. Marx did so, and if you will kindly look at that platform you will see that it has a beautiful long tail of immediate demands, worked out by Karl Marx himself. Yet nobody accused him of being any the less revolutionary for it. On the contrary, in consequence of that long program for present-day action, the Parti Ouvrier Francais was enabled to push the class struggle vigorously in the French municipalities, even more so than the opportunist Millerandists who used the immediate demands for political trading rather than for a class struggle activity. The Millerandists did not pay as much attention to the Social Revolution in the municipalities as the Guesdists did, and so the latter did much more effective work for Socialism than the former. I, therefore, say that I have in no way abandoned the standpoint which I have held before and since I went into this party. If you will please look at a little pamphlet that I wrote about the municipalities, and look at an article that I wrote in the International Socialist Review about a political program, you will see that I absolutely have been true to the position I have there taken. I do not think that in the United States there will ever be any necessity for my changing that position, but I realize that if we could have the revolution to-morrow we might as well have it to-day. No, but you can fight for the revolution in parliament; you can fight the capitalist class in parliament. I have a little suggestion followed out there will be a means of fighting for the revolution in

parliament. I absolutely deny the correctness of the position taken by Comrade Dalton that it will not be possible to wrest something from the capitalist class. With the immense trade union movement in the United States ready to be crushed under the iron heel of military despotism; with the Parryties and the Citizens' Alliances organized all over this country to crush unionism, there will soon be a demand even by the pure and simple trade unionists for political representatives—the weapon, and the only weapon, by which labor can be emancipated. They will come into the Socialist Party then, and we shall send men into parliament. And the economic situation outside will be an argument that will back us up and force the capitalists to grant these demands that we shall make on them. Just as the Guesdists in France, who, taking advantage of the French economic situation, had been able to better the condition of the working class of the great cities, so to a much greater extent shall we in the United States be able to help the working class by fighting the revolution in all the administrations of this country. In closing, I again reiterate that I have not changed my position; that I have been faithful to that position and faithful to the comrades who have believed in me, because I took that position, and I can assure you that they shall never regret that they have trusted me. (Applause.)

DEL. KARR (III.): The adoption of the platform yesterday came to me as an inspiration. I believe the document will become sacred in the years to come. I believe that the Socialist movement will date a new impulse from the adoption of that platform. I feel with reference to this program very much the same way, for the very reason that from the first I objected to it when it was presented to me, and made some remarks in harmony with the remarks of Comrade Dalton, that it was a blank, and too big, and all that sort of thing; but the very comprehensiveness of this program is after all its great feature. An objection is made that the motion to substitute includes in it the expression "in favor of everything that favors the working class and against everything that opposes it." It seems to me that Comrade Walsh should withdraw that motion to substitute, and should favor this program on that prop-

osition. It is so comprehensive and it covers the ground so thoroughly that it is hardly likely that questions can arise in the municipalities or states that cannot at least be illuminated by the program proposed. (Applause.) And for that reason, and also because I am in favor of the general proposition of your program, I am very urgently in favor of the adoption of this program substantially as it has been presented. But it does seem to me that the adoption of this program as an official stance of this convention, even though it is urged only as suggestions, is sufficient at this time without the formation of a bureau and the election of a secretary to have in charge something which is in itself but suggestive and advisory. (Applause.) It does seem to me that the national office and the state offices and the local party, guided by the suggestions in this program and aided by the advice of genuine Socialist lawyers that are becoming numerous in the Socialist Party, will be quite sufficient to meet all the necessities of the case without the addition of this expense to our work. (Applause.) The general objection is made to the program by those who have opposed it—though I am happy to say that the opposition is not in the same spirit that it was before—that they believe in Socialism and not in these immediate demands. That reminds me of a shipwrecked crew on a storm-tossed sea in a life boat, the crew was divided into two factions; one faction says, "I want to get to shore, and I do not believe in anything else but getting to shore." The other faction says, "We are just as anxious to get to shore as you are, but in order to get to shore we have got to bail the boat, we have got to work, and we have got to use every practical means to get to shore." (Applause.) It has been stated on this floor by one opposed to the adoption of this program that this program would be by far favorably considered if we were about to elect a President of the United States, senate, congress, and all that sort of thing. Gentlemen, I submit that this program would be very insignificant and insufficient in such a situation as that. (Applause.) We would be at shore then, on the point of landing. We would not need buckets to bail with nor oars to row with. The conditions that would prevail if we were on the point of car-

rying this country by a great victory would be very different, and the practical appliances would not be the same. I want to make the point a little clearer if possible that the only difference between us is as to the method by which we will get to shore. On that point I appeal to the record of the Socialist Party in France, Germany and elsewhere. I presume all of you are acquainted with the development of Socialism in the French and German cities where the comrades have obtained local control. They have been just as firm and clear as we have in the declaration of Socialist principles, but they have realized that when they were elected, they had certain demands that they must meet; demands made by the people that they must meet; and they started out to meet them. They have revolutionized the public schools in their respective cities. They have revolutionized public transportation and other things in their respective cities, and they have shown so practically to the masses of those respective cities, who see the workings under the Socialist government and the good of a Socialist administration even in the midst of the capitalist system, that it is almost impossible to dislodge these Socialist municipal governments after they have once been established. (Applause.) Capitalism seems to have no chance to regain its lost power under circumstances like those.

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I would like to ask a question. Will you move to strike out that bureau?

DEL. CARR: Excuse me, I want to use my time just now for another purpose. I am told that my time is almost up. As I said in the first place, I cannot feel in a very combative mood when there is such a spirit manifested in this, and I insist, with great seriousness, on the adoption of this report substantially as it has been submitted.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): Comrades, Mississippi will not detain you very long; but I am in favor of this program, whether that be opportunist or whatever it may be, I am in favor of the program as submitted by your committee. Why? On your streets only last night I heard the arguments of various Socialists in combat with citizens of your city and I frequently heard it said, "Aha, they don't agree on what they want themselves;" and in lecturing I

have had the question asked, "What are you going to do to replace the conditions that we have?" Some of our speakers have said that if we have not got men with sense enough to know what to do when they are elected, don't nominate them." That is all very well, but when you answer the question and then someone else asks you if that is the party position and you say, "No, this is only my personal position, your position is to the ground." And so we in the state of Mississippi ask for a guide something like this, so that we can show that all Socialists have some semblance of harmony on these questions of local issues. We have been told that this is patch work. The patch work that I take it for is something like a boat I knew that was rebuilt on the Mississippi. There was a good old gentleman there, a wealthy lumber dealer, who had his own ships and schooners, and one time had a boat that he called the Katy Maria, and the old thing was so rotten it was in danger of sinking, and the crew refused to sail on it any longer. So he thought he would have to do a little patch work on the schooner, and he had it hauled up on the shipyard to be patched, and they patched it. The ship builders went to work and took off the decks, took off the siding, took out the rudder, and they kept on taking the pieces off piece meal. Once in a while Mr. Leonard, the owner, came around to see how the patch work was getting along, and finally he left it in the hands of the shipbuilders, and when they got through with it the only old thing about the schooner was its name, Katy Maria. (Applause.) The men who were rebuilding his Katy Maria knew the dangers in going to sea with a patch-work boat, and they made it safe, but they did it in a way that Mr. Leonard was not onto. And so I believe that the Socialists of to-day will rebuild the old ship of state, and when it comes out of the political dry dock, it will be new, and there will not even be the old name to it. Now, in Mississippi—I don't know how it is with the rest of you—the situation is something like this: we have no guide to go by where I live. We have summer bath houses, and have small rails extending out into the water where people can go during the summer months. Those are very narrow paths, and some have railings and some have not, and on very

dark nights people sometimes walk out upon the wharves, and where there are no railings they occasionally fall overboard and take the path before they are prepared for it. Where there are guides or railings on the sides, they are always perfectly safe. Now, if I go before the comrades of Mississippi—not the Socialist comrades, but the comrades that we want to make Socialists of—and when they ask me our position on local questions, and they ask if that is the position of the party on some question, I can say it was the position recommended by the national convention assembled in Chicago, and then I have got something permanent and solid to stand on. It is not my personal opinion at all. (Applause.) I believe the best possible literature that we can circulate in Mississippi—I don't know how it is in these other cities of the north—is this paper that we are discussing right now. Some say that we don't want our comrades elected to offices, for instance, because they would have to trade. I do not believe they would have to trade. But let us follow that to the logical conclusion. If we follow it out to the logical conclusion, we won't elect anybody. What kind of a party are we to go before the people and say, "Here we are, but we don't want your votes, because if we elect men and put them in the legislative bodies they will be utterly unable to do a thing." (Applause.) "We don't want them to do a thing." If we talked to the people in Mississippi like that, saying that our men are unable to do anything when elected, do you think we are going to get them to help us elect them? I believe that our comrades can do something; not a great deal, it is true, but they can do something with this guide to help them. And so whether you call me an opportunist or what not, I am a Socialist to the backbone, but I am in favor of this paper. (Applause.) Delegate Toole of Maryland moved the previous question. Seconded. Delegate Mills of Kansas took the floor. DEL. HERRON (N. Y.): I rise to a question of personal privilege. DEL. JONAS (N. Y.): Are you going according to the list? THE CHAIRMAN: Yes. Here the Chairman stated that at the noon adjournment an opportunity would

be given all delegates who were not in the first photograph taken of the members of the convention, to have their pictures taken and added to the main photograph.

THE CHAIRMAN: I now understand that Delegate Herron has a question of personal privilege. I think it is that we suspend the rules and ask the committee to present the candidate for President to the convention.

DEL. HERRON: Yes.

Comrade Debs, the nominee for President, was then escorted to the platform by the Committee of Notification.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrades, it is my pleasure to present to you the Ferdinand Lasalle of the twentieth century.

Debs' Speech of Acceptance.

Comrade Debs was greeted with prolonged applause, and after it had subsided sufficiently for him to be heard he addressed the convention as follows:

In the councils of the Socialist Party the collective will is supreme. (Applause.) Personally I could have wished to remain in the ranks, to make my record, humble though it might be, fighting unnamed and unknown side by side with my comrades. I accept your nomination, not because of any honor it confers—for in the Socialist movement no comrade can be honored except as he honors himself by his fidelity to the movement. (Applause.) I accept your nomination because of the side it denotes it implies, because of the duty it imposes. I cannot but wish that I may in a reasonable measure meet your expectations; that I may prove myself fit and worthy to bear aloft in the coming contest the banner of the working class (applause); that by my finances and by my acts, not as an individual, but as your representative, I may prove myself worthy to bear the standard of the only party that proposes to emancipate my class from the thrallhold of the ages. (Applause.)

It is my honor to stand in the presence of a historic convention, and I would that Karl Marx might be here to-day (applause); I would that Lasalle and Engels, the men who long before the movement had its present standing wrought and sacrificed to make it possible for me to stand in this magnificent presence—I wish it were possible for them to share in the glories of

this occasion. We are on the eve of battle to-day. We are ready for the contest. (Applause.) We are eager for the fray. (Applause.) We depart from here with the endorsement of a convention that shall challenge the approval of the working class of the world (Applause.) The platform upon which we stand is the first American utterance upon the subject of International Socialism. (Applause.) Hitherto we have repeated, we have reiterated, we have followed. For the first time in the history of the American movement we have realized the American expression of that movement. There is not a line, not a word in that platform which is not revolutionary, which is not clear, which does not state precisely and properly the position of the American movement. We leave this convention, standing on this platform, to throw down the gauntlet to the capitalist enemy (applause), to challenge the capitalist oppressor, to stand for the perpetuation of the system that keeps in chains the workers in whose name we meet to-day. (Applause.)

There is a Republican party; the dominant capitalist party of this time; the White House; the party that stands in both branches of Congress; the party that controls the Supreme Court; the party that commands the press; the party that gives inspiration to the subsidized pulpit; the party that guides every force of government; the party that has the absolute power in every department of our public affairs. And as a necessary result we find that corruption is rampant; that the Congress of the United States dare not respond to the demands of the people to uncover the sources from which corruption flows like lava streams down mountain sides; that they adjourned long before the regular hour in order that they might postpone the inevitable. (Applause.)

There is a Democratic party (a voice, "Where?"); a party that has not stooped enough left to proclaim its own bankruptcy (laughter and applause); an ex-prime party that totters upon the crumbling foundations of a dying class; a party that is torn by dissension; a party that cannot unite; a party that is looking backward and hoping for the resurrection of the men who gave it inspiration a century ago; a party that is appealing to the cemeteries of the past

(applause); a party that is trying to vitalize itself by its ghosts, by its corpses, by those who cannot be heard in their own defense. (Applause.) Thomas Jefferson would scorn to enter a modern Democratic convention. He would have as little business there as Abraham Lincoln would have in a latter-day Republican convention. (Applause.) If they were living to-day they would be delegates to this convention. (Tremendous applause.)

The Socialist Party meets these two capitalist parties face to face, without apology, scorning to compromise; it throws down the gauntlet of battle and declares that there is but one solution of what is called the labor question, and that is by the complete overthrow of the capitalist system. (Applause.)

You have honored me, in the magnitude of the task you have imposed upon me, far beyond the power of my weak words to express. I can simply say that obedient to your call I respond. (Applause.) Responsive to your command I am here, to serve you to the limit of my capacity. My controlling ambition shall be to bear the standard aloft where the battle waxes thickest. (Applause.) I shall take advantage of every opportunity to proclaim the emancipating mission of the Socialist movement. I shall be heard in the coming campaign (applause), as often, as decidedly, as emphatically, as revolutionarily (applause), and as uncompromisingly (applause) as my ability, my strength and my fealty to the party will allow.

I invoke no aid but that which springs from the misery of my class (applause)—no power that does not spring spontaneously from the oppression and exploitation of the workers of the world.

Above all things I realize that for the first time in the history of the ages there is a working-class movement ("Hear, hear," and applause)—perfectly free from the patronizing cant of those who riot in the misery of the class who make up that movement.

On this occasion, above all others, my comrades, we are appealing to ourselves, we are beseeching ourselves, we are arousing the working class, the class that through all the ages has been oppressed, crushed, robbed and debased, for the one reason that it has lacked the consciousness of its overmastering power that shall finally give it supreme

control and make it the sovereign ruler of the world. (Applause.) This class is just beginning to awaken from the torpor of the centuries (applause). The most hopeful sign of the time is that from the dull, dim eye of the proletariat there shoots forth the first gleam of intelligence, the first signal that he is waking up, and that he is becoming conscious of his power; and when through the vitalizing influence of the Socialist movement he shall become completely conscious of that power, he will overthrow the capitalist system and bring emancipation to his class and to all humanity. (Great applause.)

To consecrate myself to my part in this great work is my supreme ambition. (Applause.) I can only hope to do that part which is expected of me so well that my comrades, when the final verdict is rendered, will say, "He is not remembered because he was a candidate for President; he did not aspire to hold office; he did not try to associate his name with the passing glories, but he did prove himself a worthy member of the Socialist Party (applause); he proved his right to a place in the International Socialist movement." (Applause.) I have no illusion as to which you have called me shall have been completed this can be said of me, my acceptance of your nomination will have been far better made than I could hope to frame it in weak words, and so I close, with the wish and the hope and the confidence that when the fight has been fought, when the task you have imposed upon me has been performed, so far as it lies in the power of an individual to perform that task, my acceptance of the honor you have conferred upon me will have been worthily made, and that your judgment may then be vindicated by the membership of the party throughout the country.

From the depths of my heart I thank you. I thank you and each of you, and through you those you represent. I thank you not from my lips merely. I thank you from the depths of a heart that is responsive to your consideration. We shall meet again. We shall meet often. And when we meet finally we shall meet as a victorious host to ratify the triumph of the Socialist Republic. (Great and prolonged applause.)

Prolonged cheers and applause fol-

lowed the address of Comrade Debs, terminating with three rousing cheers and a tiger. When a semblance of order was finally restored the Chair said:

Comrades, the hour of adjournment has passed and we will adjourn until half-past one—but wait one moment. I wish to repeat the request that was made by the photographer, that those who were not included in the photograph will step back a moment and step to the back of the hall.

DEL. MILLS (Kas.): I wish to make a suggestion which I think we will

unanimously agree to, and that is that upon beginning the discussion after adjournment the three-minute rule be adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: Make it five.

DEL. MILLS: All right. I move we suspend the rules and adopt the five-minute rule on speeches after the adjournment.

Delegate: I move to amend by making it three-minute speeches.

DEL. MILLS: I accept the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention stands adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The Chairman called the convention to order at 1:30 P. M.

Consideration of the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program was resumed.

DEL. MILLER (Col.) moved that speakers be limited to three minutes. The motion was seconded by Delegate Mills (Kan.)

It was moved to amend by permitting members of the committee to have ten minutes. Seconded.

The previous question being ordered, the motion as amended was carried.

DEL. LUCAS (Minn.): It was not my desire to take up much time in this debate at the start, because I thought these resolutions or this program was so much within the limit of common sense that it would not be necessary for any debate, and in taking the floor at this time I only wish to set forth the opinion of the members in Minnesota. I know that in Minnesota 98 out of every 100—aye, more than that—will be in favor of this proposition. To vote down this proposition is simply to turn the Socialist ship loose without any chart, without any address to get us act without any system. We must have something else besides a compass; we must have a chart to steer by; we must know our course if we do not want to go to pieces on the rocks. Now, the program that is presented here is not mandatory; it simply gives us a certain guide so that the people in the United States, and especially in the West, will have some idea of what we want and how to get at it and how to do it. People who talk the most about Karl Marx and revolutionary Socialism and all that thing are sometimes the most ignorant Socialists we have in the move-

ment. (Cries of "No, no.") I prefer to stand by the advice of such men as Liebknecht and Reibel rather than by that of comrades who have only been in the movement a short time. I believe in going for those things that are a possibility, but doing it on our own initiative and on our own platform, without any concessions to the other parties or wish any of their help. I believe also in the advice of Liebknecht, that whenever you can seize anything that is for the interest of the laboring class, we should seize it and take it without compromise. (Applause.)

Delegate Bosky (Minn.) asked to have his name placed on the speakers' list.

DEL. KERRIGAN (Tex.): I fully sympathize with the desire for an emphatic, clear declaration of principles, but I am satisfied that some of the comrades are mistaken in their view of the value of this program. We have had some experience in Texas with the confusion that arises from the want of an expression on the part of our party as to just what measures in a municipal way are advisable for the Socialist movement. Last spring I was a campaign there, and it devolved upon me and a few other comrades to prepare a platform, so I went to a scrapbook that I keep and extracted some of the platforms that I had been collecting from various newspapers that had published the platforms adopted in cities in different parts of the country. I want to say that there were no two of them alike; and some of them were so contradictory that I wondered that any one would put them forth and expect to be credited with good sense. Now, I want to say that the conditions in the ortho-

dox religious world are a fair sample of what arises from a want of authority in interpretation. There are over a thousand creeds, I believe, and one of the charges brought against the Catholic church has been that it would not allow the people to interpret the Bible to suit themselves. Now, I am not endorsing the religion of the Catholic church, but it is true that where each man claims the right to interpret the Bible to suit himself, confusion is the result. I make no comparison between Socialism and such questions as orthodoxy, but I say this, that if a man is allowed to place any construction that he sees fit on Socialism, we can understand just exactly what the result will be. There is nothing binding in this program, and I think the comrades are simply mistaken as to its purpose and effect. I know there are some men who think it their duty to express their superheated class-consciousness by always operating on nothing but the influence of International Socialism in every utterance, though I am not prepared to say that the comrades here today are of that stripe. Now, I only object to that part of the report that would tend to bind the party to a definite program, and there is a marked tendency on the part of Socialists to refuse their own medicine. We are very loud in our declarations about economic determinism, and point out how it operates in the world at large, but when it comes to our own affairs we do not want to take our own medicine. Here is the case of economic determinism starting us in the face, running right into our arms: a proposition to establish a salaried office with \$1,000 expenses attached to it. Now, I should waive that. That is the only part that I seriously object to. There are some minor details that are inconsequential and can be settled when the time comes. I want to emphasize one fact—

THE CHAIRMAN: Time. If the comrade had listened to the report he would have noticed that there was not one word about the salary to be given to the Secretary. The report provided for a committee with a secretary. He was to be elected by the Committee on Municipal Program, with the consent of the Executive Committee, and they were to fix the compensation.

DEL. HEYDRICK (Pa.): I am in favor of the substitute offered by Com-

rade Walsh of Montana, for the reason that at present the Socialist movement is rather educational than anything else, and for the further reason that you have there a program long enough to satisfy the possible, not to say probable requirements of the party for the next 15 or 20 years. We have every popular plank that it is possible to incorporate into one, and for the reason that that is so it seems to me that the proper thing to do is to make a short, concise and definite declaration upon the policy of the members elected upon that vote-catching platform. There is nothing in the composition and construction of Comrade Walsh's amendment to which even Comrade Spargo would take exception, as far as its English is concerned, I believe. It is easily comprehensible, and everyone to whom it comes should understand definitely the position of the Socialist party, and this one thing I think is more for us to learn from any other declaration of this convention. In the last analysis, anyway, the best that can be said is that the test for our position upon any legislation is, whether or not it is in the interest of the working class. If we pledge ourselves to that position and are true to it, we may rest assured that any power once conferred by the working class on our candidates shall be again and again reposed in them so long as they are true to that cardinal principle. Of course I know that what I say, like what Comrade Gibbs and a few others have said, will have a negligible influence on that fraction of the working class known as the intellectual proletarians, or the proletarian intellectuals. We have both here, and even a taint of that is of course out of place here. The intellectual has no place in the Socialist movement until after he is dead. Then he is used here as authority for every statement. (Applause.)

DEL. STEDMAN (Ill.): In the first place, let us understand this: there are 546 cities in the United States with over 8,000 inhabitants. You may nominate your candidates for President and Vice-President this year, but you will not elect them. You know that in the next year or two you will not only elect one, but hundreds of aldermen, and a great number of representatives, to go to the legislatures of the different states. You must have some definite

method of instructing them, or at least of pointing out what should characterize their action in a legislative body. It is argued by some who seem to be proud that they are not intellectuals—in other words, proud of their own ignorance (applause), proud because they know little—that the ideal test of a proposition should be whether it is in favor of the working class, and if so, we are in favor of it. Let me tell you that every democratic politician who hears the Socialists might ask, "what will you do?" will answer, "anything the working class wants." Ask Bath House John and every corrupt politician, and they will say, "I am for the working class, and I will do everything they want." Ask a politician in the impossible camp, "and you get exactly the same reply, 'I will vote for the interest of my class.'" When you ask, "What do you propose to do?" then he will be unable to tell. Let us remember a few things; that this movement at the present time is a municipal movement; it will grow and develop within the streets, and you will take possession of them long before you do of the national government. The municipalities are the natural homes of the proletariat. It will first assert its strength there. You will first be obliged to assume a constructive course and constructive propaganda there. We are going to have new conditions, the condition that has characterized our movement heretofore has been analytical and condemnatory of the capitalist system. We are going to have responsibility thrust upon our shoulders, on the shoulders of every member of our party. As Socialists officers increase in number, just to that extent must we assume a constructive course in introducing within the present system all that we can that will enable the proletarians to raise their standard of living and contribute to their well-being. There are inquiries coming in from members of the party asking that we endorse this proposition and endorse that proposition. To whom should these go? To the National Secretary, when the National Secretary has a great amount of work upon his hands? Of course, until after the national machinery is running that might be done, but not otherwise. After the work is organized it should go to a committee who will have it in charge and who should devote their attention to it. The Indianapolis convention created such a

committee, and you have that committee's report to begin with, and you know the character of the committee and the research shown by their report. You have had some kind of special work for the different committees. The most of them cannot run the whole movement, but they may become quite perfect in a particular department.

DEL. WALDHORST (Ala.): All I want to say is that I want to ask Comrade Walsh to take the substitute that he introduced and put it into the constitution. I think that is the only place for it, but not on the program. The next point, as Comrade Stedman pointed out, there is no compulsion attached to the program that has been made out; it is a general recommendation of the committee. The next one I want to say this, that in all the experience of the Socialist party, wherever they have attempted any legislation, that is whenever it was forced upon them where the growth of the movement has made it absolutely necessary that they take the reins of government in municipalities, they have been confronted with that one obstacle, that neither the party, state, national nor local, has had any provision made for such occasions as that. We have got in Alabama two aldermen, both of them Socialists, but there is no program, and it was impossible for the local there to provide any provision as to what is necessary to do for them to work under. We have no academicians; most of us are working men. Now, wherever there has been an organized movement of the Socialist party that has taken hold of the powers of the municipal government, they have a program mapped out by which each and everyone of the officials can show that their action was based on a certain line of municipal action, and the result has proved so satisfactory that they were never called back; they have remained in office. The water works of Berlin are one instance, the city rail ways of Berlin another. In the legislatures of several of the middle states of Germany there are men that have been elected and re-elected; and why? Because they were standing on a certain defined platform or routine of work that was mapped out by the party for these officials to follow and carry out. And if they do not carry them out, it called the attention of the whole public, of all the people, to certain objec-

tions in carrying on the work and propaganda of the party, which is far more important and has done more good than all other propaganda combined. It was a practical illustration of the Socialist in office and that is what we need, and what we need is a guide by which each man can do his work. The street railways in several cities are ready almost to be brought under direct control of the municipalities. Waterworks the same; some of them have them. Now, if you do not define the conduct which will govern any Socialist officials elected to such positions in such departments, then you will not show to the public what the man has to do. Just like the previous speaker said, the democratic and republican ward heulers will give the same answer to the voters as the Socialist will. But we might give him a platform and refer him to certain objects in view that are set out by the party, and then it is a different proposition. Therefore, I hope you will adopt the majority program report.

DEL. HAZLETT (Col.): May I have the consent of the convention to speak after the other Colorado delegates have spoken?

THE CHAIRMAN: The comrade wishes to know whether she can have consent to speak after the other Colorado delegates have spoken.

DELEGATES: Consent.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection it will be permitted. No objection.

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): Comrades, I would like to give you a slight history of the origin of the wording of this amendment. The only portion of the Seattle platform, which has now been adopted by five states, and I am responsible for, is that section which is included in this amendment: "The Socialist party, when in office, shall always and everywhere;" and so on; you are familiar with it; it is in our municipal platform. Two years ago in our municipal election, this platform was drawn, and the wording of that particular section was due to me; nothing else in it. You have it in your Chicago platform, I believe, the municipal platform. Now, in addition to the statement that when we are in office we will try every question with respect to the interest of the working class, I had added what is necessary

to go with it, a statement of the things that we would do under the particular local conditions where we are asking for the suffrages of the citizens. (Applause.) Comrade Ault of Idaho reminds me of this fact also—I had forgotten it: our comrades in the convention, in spite of my advocacy of this what you might call immediate-demand idea, cut that off and put the platform before the public there in its beheaded condition. (Applause.) That is, the head is there, but the limbs are gone. We say we will do these things, but we do not tell what we will do. Now the judgment of a party is better than the judgment of any one or two men. (Applause.) I do not believe in any procrustean law by which a party will say how you should do these things when you get into power, but I do believe in our suggesting and intimating, under special conditions and environments, what the men who go into office to represent the party should do. This you can have. There is every reason to believe we have it here. I want to say that this is not a platform; it is not even a suggestion of a platform. We have got the platform by itself. The platform says exactly what is in this long list; in substance, that we will do certain things in the interest of the working class if we have the chance. Now, then, is there anything impracticable about that? Is there anything about that that is non-revolutionary? As I came up to the room I heard a comrade ridiculing this platform and ridiculing these demands. These are not demands except when we shall try to do something; they are a mere suggestion of the line in which we will act. It is absolutely rational; and it would be irrational to leave the old demand or statement that we will do whatever we can, and then not say what we will do under specific conditions. Those are the things, I believe, that make it reasonable to adopt this platform. The constant mistake is made, however, of talking about those immediate demands as things that we are going before the people to advocate. No, we are going before the people on the platform that we adopted yesterday. (Applause.) We will not talk about these things at all. If a man is elected to a legislative assembly in any state or to the council in a city, those are things which he will

try to do while we are a minority. When we become a majority we will fulfill the promises of the platform. (Applause.) We will overwhelm the capitalist system and abolish wages.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I am going to say that I am in favor of adopting these suggestions because they are only suggestions. But there has been so much error in those who oppose a portion of this, so much that is irrelevant, that after all we are quarreling about nothing. Those people take the position that we are going to overturn the capitalist system and build a new system brand new. Now, those are what they call revolutionists who do not know a thing about what a revolution is. (Applause.) The Socialist revolution proper is the seizing of power by the working class so that they can take the things that are already constructed and use them in their own interests, and we are going to construct some of the things that we are going to be the masters of. That is what this proposition proposes; it is simply a suggestion; we may reject them. What does it amount to? We make these suggestions, and if you are going to adopt them in any city and in every state of the United States, and we were to elect Debs and Hanford, we would not use one of them. (Applause.) There is nothing to that in that regard. The delegate from Oregon said these things would be good after we got into power. After we get into power we are going to do something else entirely. (Applause.) That is the history of revolution. Let them read the demands of the Third Estate in France when it got power. Look at the American revolution, how it started. The demand was for certain legislation, that they might first have. Before they got through they said to King George, "Get out." It was another proposition entirely. (Applause.) And that is the law that governs revolutions. The people who talk so glibly about being revolutionists, let them first understand what they mean by revolution. (Applause.) It is the change of power for which we are trying to organize the working class so as to obtain power in order to administer the things that are, and not the things that might be constructed. That is what we are fighting for. We are fighting for the world. The world is at stake, and between us and the capitalist class there is a battle.

Don't get off of your balance on this phraseology. The Chicago platform is referred to. If you people knew the nature of that Chicago platform you would talk differently. That Chicago platform was adopted in a committee on platform of which I was a member. I edited a portion of it, and it said, "We will do everything for the working class as a whole, if the opportunity offers." Everything for the working class as a whole. But I followed it with this paragraph: "And any portion of the working class, if opportunity offers." (A delegate: "That was stricken off.") Right you are; that was stricken off. You cannot understand a thing unless you know how it was born. They did not want to do anything for any portion of the working class. (Applause.)

DEL. WORK (Iowa): It has frequently been said that the purpose of the republican platform and the democratic platform is to get in on, but not to stand on after you get in. The purpose of this program is not to get in on, but to stand upon after you do get in. It is not a platform. Its purpose is to act as a guide to the legislators and aldermen and mayors who may be elected by the Socialist party. The opponents to this program are placed in an inconsistent position, because, as has already been pointed out, they or we by the aid of their votes have already adopted a national program. It is true that it is in the platform and not in a separate document, where it ought to be. But, nevertheless, it is in the national program, and you will find it in the last paragraph on the third page of the platform adopted yesterday, where we declare for old age insurance, the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, for the equal suffrages of men and women, for preventing the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes, for the free administration of justice, for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation and the recall of officers by their constituents, etc. That is a national program, and yet we have not elected a single United States senator or representative in the lower House of Congress. And if you are willing to have a national program under those circumstances, why are you not willing to have a state and municipal program

when we have already begun to elect state and municipal officers. (Applause.) We have already elected a hundred or two of aldermen and mayors and other city officials, and at the November election it is as certain as anything can be in this world that we will elect several dozen state legislators, and at the next municipal election next spring we will elect several hundred more of municipal officials, so that the time is ripe for a municipal program. We have here today Jacob L. Hanger and Frederick Housh as representatives from Wisconsin and the rest of the Milwaukee aldermen, asking this convention to give them the benefit of its collective wisdom on this subject. (Applause.)

DEL. UFERT (N. J.): Comrade Chairman and Comrades, I am in favor of the adoption of this program, because when we adopt this program we are not adopting a platform of the Socialist party. It merely gives our representatives whom we may elect a guide when they are chosen to office, and then we will not have occurrences of the kind which some of our papers have been criticizing, such as the cement sidewalk platform and platforms of that kind. When we do lay down a guide of the kind there will be no cause for the occurrence of such platforms in the Socialist movement. The question hinges on this: Whether, by the adoption of this program, we take from the Socialist party its revolutionary spirit. I do not believe we do. Last April in Milwaukee the Social Democratic party elected nine aldermen, and they had an immediate demand program attached to their platform. In Chicago we have what is known as one of the most revolutionary locals in the United States, so-called, but the Chicago Local Union Socialist Club movement has not yet caused as much of a revolution as the Milwaukee movement (applause), by seizing from the capitalist class the control of the powers of government. That is what we are after, friends, and that is what we are going to get by going at it in a sane and rational way. That is the question between the Socialist and the opposition parties. The battle is for the control of the powers of government. In places such as Milwaukee and others, where we have gotten control of the powers of government, we find they have accomplished something in the revolutionary line. You go to the capital-

ist class in Milwaukee, and you go to the capitalist class in Chicago, and ask them which is the more revolutionary movement? You can rest assured that the capitalist class in Milwaukee has far more respect for the Socialist movement in that city than has the capitalist class for the movement in Chicago. We must stop talking revolution and revolutionize things. We are the most revolutionary party, I say, in this country. (Applause.)

DEL. CARR (Ill.): A point of order. I believe it has been the rule this afternoon for the comrades to alternate in talking on this question. I believe this is the fifth man who has opposed the motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: Your point of order is not well taken.

DEL. CARR: The rules provide that.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, the rules provide that when the previous question is moved you alternate, not before.

DEL. MILLER (Colo.): This program is an attempt to give a local interpretation to the philosophy of Marx in the language of the working class. It is a practical demonstration of the fact that we know what the interest of the workers is. Before we have a right to be entrusted with the work of legislation we should be prepared to tell what we would do in a municipality. At a time when a strike against an employer becomes an insurrection against the state, it is proper for the workers to give a practical interpretation to the class struggle, and to say that the federal troops shall be prohibited from interfering in the disputes between capital and labor. (Applause.) That is the way we understand the class struggle. This simply shows that the Socialists have arisen high enough for a view of the entire field of political activity, and are able to direct the Socialist movement, the Socialist party, in every part of that field. We have passed the academic stage. This thing is getting out of the chairs of editors and economists and political philosophers, down into the hearts and minds of the working class. We have a right to appeal to the support of the workers when we show by our program the calculations upon the question that confront them that we know just where their interests lie and are

prepared to take our place right by their side and direct their affairs on every part of the field. And until we are able to make this concrete expression we are merely an academic party.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I rise to a point of order. That the Chair is proceeding contrary to our wishes in keeping a list. I make this point of order in order to expedite the business.

SEVERAL DELEGATES: Consent.

THE CHAIRMAN: All right. Comrade Floaten has the floor.

DEL. FLOATEN (Colo.): The Colorado delegation has been very modest during this convention, and I trust you will pardon us if two of us speak, one after the other, on this question. There was a time when I thought very little about a working program. In fact I did not know whether it was necessary or not. From the discussions here today and the difference of opinion of the delegates to this convention I am very well satisfied that the party should express itself positively one way or the other. It does not matter what that expression is, but we must have an expression of the party. We are here today and the difference of opinion of the concrete expression of the Socialist party as near as possible without a referendum vote. We get the crystallized opinion of the party throughout the states, because most of the organized states are fairly well represented. Now, the point is not what we will do after we gain control of the nation as Socialists, but while we are a minority party in the nation or in the state, we may be a majority party in a community or a municipality, and that is what this program is for. It is to tell us so that we may act with uniformity on all classes of questions that may come up which are of interest to the working class. One of the great objections that we have had in Colorado in the warring for Comrade Miller here for the legislature, was "What do you intend to do? On what side of the question will you vote in the legislature?" Suppose he is without a guide, he can simply say, as has been expressed here, "I will take that side which is in the interest of the working class." Now, the best interest is divided as to what is the best interest of the working man. Some Socialists, and good ones at that, will say that the best thing is to grant franchises to cor-

porations and let the working class in grant down till they see the necessity of voting the Socialist ticket. Others say on the eight-hour question that the best thing to do is not to give them an eight-hour law, but allow them to work twelve or fourteen hours until they can see the necessity of coming into the Socialist party. There are good Socialists that hold those opinions. On the other side there are Socialists who say that if there is a measure which would be of benefit to the working class it ought to be supported by the Socialists. What we want is an expression of the Socialist party as to what will be of the greatest benefit to the working class.

DEL. WILL (Kan.): I come from a state which a few years ago turned a capitalistic Republican majority of 80,000 into a majority for a former minority party that took control of all portions of the government in that state. These people were engaged in the discussion of national issues, largely to the exclusion of state issues. They had talked about 16 to 1, national ownership of railroads and these other little party issues, and what do we find today in that state? Now, I clearly foresee that if the Socialist movement continues along the lines laid down by some of our friends we are liable to make exactly the same mistake. I can clearly foresee that in comparatively a few years, if the Socialist movement continues to develop as it is now developing, we will carry some states. It seems to me a very rational proposition that in a few years we shall carry the state of Kansas. Now, the question to my mind is just this: When we are in power in the state of Kansas and have control of both branches of the legislature and of the executive power and of the judicial department, shall we be prepared to do something, or shall we not? Our friends who are what are called impossibilists would say we should do nothing. If we go before the people with that kind of a proposition and say that we do not propose to do anything, and that we could not do anything even if we were in power, then I wish to say right here that we may as well abandon it now, once for all, because we will never get into power. I wish to say in the second place that if we ever have the misfortune to be placed in power with ideas of that kind in our minds, the result would be disastrous to the Socialist

party. I expect, however, to see this movement go on to ultimate success.

The question simply is whether we, as members of the Socialist Party, shall do what we can to make the party a useful instrument for saving the people from plutocracy.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I rise to the regular order—

THE CHAIRMAN: No, I recognize Delegate Kraybill of Kansas.

DEL. KRAYBILL (Kan.): Last night, when asked if I endorsed the platform or program to which my name is subscribed, I said, "Yes, and for immediate use." Conditions have evolved to the point where they demand that this municipal program be made practical, and if the Socialists do not inaugurate it the Republicans and Democrats will do so. There are those who say that we should not cross the river until we get to it. We can never cross the river if we do not build a bridge to do so, and if we do not build the bridge the river body will crowd down on the bank until we fall into the river. We cannot handle the entire situation at once. If every officer elected at the next election should be a Socialist we could not handle the situation. We would have to take up one thing at a time. Now, we people are accused of being unscientific and of not being Socialists. Last night when I declared for a scientific basis for Socialism I was told that I am a Hearst follower. Now, I want to say one word in advance. I believe I am as good a Socialist as there is in this convention. I was first merely an academic Socialist, but while a girl in the University I read Ruskin's "Crown of Wild Olive." While reading that book I realized the conditions of labor in England; I went a step further and I realized that labor all over the world is in that condition. When I finished that book I said, "Some day I will go out and fight the cause of the laboring man." (Applause.) In a few years more I went into the trade union. I have worked with the miners and have addressed several humions and have spent months studying the conditions of the miners and the workers in the sweat-shops and factories in this country. I am only a woman, but I have read Karl Marx (Applause.) I believe that, I am a Socialist from every standpoint, if I am

for a municipal program and immediate

demands. I am for the full program of Socialism, and I do not believe that I should make one single concession. I am for the full program of the industries of the United States. The people must control those instruments that are used in producing the necessities of life so that no man or set of men can have a corner on the necessities of life.

DEL. REILLY (N. J.): I think the opposition to the adoption of this program is based on an honest fear that by adopting a working program we shall guidance in those places where we shall be given the conduct of the powers of government, that we will cloud the real issue, that we will obscure the end in view; in other words, that we will secure votes for the immediate demands and not for the emancipation of the working class through the inauguration of pure Socialism. (Applause.) I only want to point out this one fact, while on the other question Comrade Titus of Washington has expressed by views correctly. It is this, that in other nations where the powers have tried to steal the Socialist thunder by adopting measures supposedly in the interest of the working class, that this has not been the effect. There is no danger in our adopting a working class program, a working class program such as is presented by this report, if we emphasize the fact that in following out these policies and in inaugurating these measures we are doing it only as a means to the end that we have in view, and not for any other purpose.

Delegate Hazlett (Colo.) rose.

THE CHAIRMAN: You will recollect that it was by consent that the comrade from Colorado was to receive the floor after the Colorado delegates had spoken upon the question.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): A point of order. There is no rule which provides that the Chairman shall make a list of speakers.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand that very well.

DEL. SPARGO: And I protest that such a list is contrary to the wishes of this convention, unless the convention so desire.

THE CHAIRMAN: Just one second. I want to say this: One or two delegates from New York sent my names, and I shall not recognize any one as coming ahead of those who have

already asked for the floor. The comrade here has the floor (referring to Delegate Hazlett).

DEL. SPARGO: As a matter of personal privilege, I desire to say that it was not my intention or the intention of these—

THE CHAIRMAN: You are out of order.

DEL. SPARGO: I move the previous question.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have not the floor. Proceed; the comrade from Colorado has the floor.

DEL. HAZLETT (Colo.): I wish to speak of an aspect of the subject that has not been touched as yet, and that is the claims of the opposition that they stand upon a scientific and revolutionary standpoint. It seems to me, and it is my belief, that their position, instead of being scientific, is the position of the anarchists as a class. It is a position without method and without system; a position to move forward without knowing whither you are going. We have an instance in the State of Colorado at the present time. We have in "Teller County in Colorado a holding faction of the Socialist party. That is the chief seat of the strike. They curse the leaders of the strike and the officials of the Mine Workers' Association. As a result of that, in that place they have stood on the street corners and boasted that not one of them has been put in the bull pen, while in Teller County, Idaho Springs the leaders of Socialism who are also the leaders in the union movement have been deported. Now, Socialists claim to be different from the superficial anarchists who construe the word "revolutionary" as simply meaning letting everything go until you get in power, and then depend upon circumstances, as with the Paris Commune. I deny the correctness of this position. I believe in emphasizing the necessity of systematizing the means by which Socialists may learn what we can do when we get control of the means of production and other things. I understand that this program which is offered to us to-day is simply like a bill of fare: you can take part of it or you can leave part of it; you can use what you want. You do not have to swallow the whole thing, but you swallow it according to your needs. It also is a help in reference to the position in which it places

the Socialist party. We all know we are being asked our position on various questions. Here we have something that we can show. This does not cover the whole system of affairs, but it does show the position of the party upon certain matters that come before us, and we can refer our people to something that has definite authority behind it. For this reason I am opposed to the indecisive proposition. It seems to me it is only superficial, and will lead astray the Socialists who have got about to the point of the Socialist philosophy. For this reason I favor the adoption of the program as it stands, and I am glad to have something to talk about. (Applause.)

DEL. HILLQUIT: A point of order. We have not provided for keeping up a list of comrades.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point is overruled. Do you wish to take an appeal? If so, take it.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Exactly. That was the question of privilege I was referring to a while ago.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: Do you take an appeal?

DEL. HILLQUIT: I do, for this reason, that in the rules we have provided for a certain parliamentary order, and we did not provide for a speaker's list. In making this appeal I do not do so because I want to speak, but I consider it an unjustifiable waste of time to keep a list. What it results in is this: On a question which probably could have been decided with a discussion by three or five men on each side, we have a list of twenty-five. Just now I may want to say something, and I will give my name in. In two hours from now I will be called upon to say what somebody else has covered, but I have made it my duty to still say it because I am called upon. And why? Let any one rise when he has something to say, and let the Chair recognize him.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: You know how much more unsatisfactory it would be if all got up at once. The Chair would have to single out one, and he might single out the right one and might single out the wrong one and give him an opportunity to speak. I cannot see any objection to having each one ask for the floor and be recognized in his turn. Comrade Hillquit has not

been recognized because each one was given his turn. If the comrade had asked for it he would have got his turn. As it stands now he has no right to go in ahead of the others. (Applause.) The decision of the Chair was sustained.

A Wisconsin delegate moved the previous question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Berger, of Milwaukee, has the floor.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I would like to be put down on that list, because when my time comes I want to move the previous question.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: I also, because I desire to second it.

DEL. BICKETT (Ohio): I move we adjourn.

THE CHAIRMAN: Delegate Berger has the floor.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I suppose everybody is getting tired of this debate.

DELEGATES: No, no!

DEL. BERGER: I suppose everybody is getting tired of this debate, and everybody has made up his mind as to how he is going to vote. I for one am going to vote for this program. I am not going to make a speech. I am going to move the previous question. Seconded.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): He has made a speech when he is not entitled to make a speech.

THE CHAIRMAN: I have not heard any speech.

DEL. SLOBODIN: Yes, you have. He has just told how he is going to vote.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): A point of order. In moving the previous question he has no right to make any argument whatever.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken.

DEL. BERGER: Mr. Chairman, a question of information.

THE CHAIRMAN: What is the question?

DEL. BERGER: Roberts' Rules of Order say that you can make a few remarks. Am I right, Comrade from Kansas?

DELEGATES: No.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): A point of order. When Comrade Berger moves the previous question and goes on to

make a speech you should make him sit down. He has no right to make a speech.

THE CHAIRMAN: Don't worry. Comrade Berger will be able to take care of himself without assistance from any delegate from Illinois. Comrade Meyer—

DEL. BERGER: A point of order. The Chair did not recognize my motion on the previous question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Please take your seat. I was following the list and recognized Comrade Meyer, and he has the floor.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I recognize the fact that the proposed program is a plan for the guidance of legislation in the United States, but it is also for the purpose of guiding the soap box orators and speakers that are called upon to stand before the class-conscious proletariat. Now, the first function of the Socialist Party is the education of the men and women of the working class, such education consisting of a knowledge of the fundamentals of Socialism in order that economic conditions may be properly interpreted by them, so that our fellow-wage slaves, men, women and children, may know the cause of such conditions and the only remedy, the abolition of the system of rent, interest, and profit—competitive wage slavery. To teach the non-Socialist anything but the fundamentals of Socialism is to blur and envelop them in a mist which is created by the capitalist parties and is called by the Socialists reform, reactionary and vague, and rightly so, because the blindness of non-Socialists prevents them from penetrating such mist-containing methods. In the course of economic education men and women become conscious of the fact that society is divided into two classes, wealth producers and those who eat the food, wear the garments and shelter themselves in the magnificent structures created by and taken from the former with the assistance of the paper covered by the latter and for the latter, because of the political and the law making and law interpreting and law executing power being in the hands of the latter. That exploiting class which is sustained by the policeman's club and the rifle, uses all the power in its hands to perpetuate the present system of parasitism to keep

in economic slavery, submissively and servilely, the working class of the world. Therefore, the working class must unite and take from the other class the powers of government for the purposes stated in the only program which is revolutionary, the platform of the International Socialist Party, the party of the workers of the world. (Applause.) Some comrades ask me the question, "When you are on the soap box and the non-Socialist comes to you and asks you what we are going to do about the work involved in municipalization or the reorganizing of municipal ownership of the street railways," I say this, that I will answer him, "We stand for all these things, but I recognize, my friend, that you do not understand why we stand for these things, because you do not understand the fundamentals of Socialism." I will have to go to work and talk about the fundamentals of Socialism, and I will do it for the class-conscious proletariat in order that he may understand why we stand for these various measures which may or may not ameliorate the condition of the working class. As to the duty of legislators, comrades who may be elected to the legislatures, I desire simply to state this, that the Socialists elected to the legislature or council of any city, state or nation can do nothing else but work for Socialism by exposing capitalism and capitalist tactics employed to keep in submission the working class. In conclusion I stand neither for the substitute, which is a compromise, nor do I stand for the original. (Applause.)

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): A question of parliamentary inquiry. Under the rules that we are working under now I would like to inquire if there is any way to reach the previous question?

THE CHAIRMAN: There is, but I recognize Comrade Breckon.

DEL. HANFORD: We can only reach the previous question provided some comrade who is listed to speak should change his mind, withhold his speech and make that motion?

THE CHAIRMAN: I am not answering your question, though I presume that may be true.

DEL. HANFORD: I ask that information of the Chair, as he appears to be working under rules that nobody knows but himself, and I think he is in duty bound to enlighten us.

THE CHAIRMAN: That may be true. I only hope the balance of the convention understand the rules better than the comrade from New York Comrade Breckon has the floor.

DEL. HANFORD: Must that motion be seconded by another person on the list?

THE CHAIRMAN: No; it does not have to be seconded by any one.

DEL. HANFORD: Then why can't the original motion be made by any one?

THE CHAIRMAN: Because you have not been recognized for that purpose. I have recognized Comrade Breckon, and he has the floor.

DEL. BRECKON (Ill.): We hear a great deal these days from the Socialist platform and from the soap box and from all the newspapers respecting the improved tools of production and what wonderful things they have accomplished. It seems to me that we fail to recognize an improved tool of propaganda that has come into our national convention in the shape of a working program that makes these logical revolutionists able to be a united body on the important questions that are before us. Another thought: It has been said on the floor in the discussion that those who stand for this program are immediate demanders, that they are opportunists. Any one who will hunt up the definition of those terms will find that they mean the subordination of principle to tactics, and I want any man, revolutionist or otherwise, to point to a single instance in this program where there is any evidence of subordination of principle to the tactic that is laid down.

DEL. SLOBODIN: I will.

DEL. BRECKON: Very well. Now, the opposition in the main that I hear before this body proposes a working principle that might infinitely better be defined, as it has been defined, that it might be wrapped up in a nutshell—an impracticable principle so-called. We tried it in Chicago in our city convention two years ago, and we sent out orators upon the soap box to meet the questions that came to us, and we were answering them in as many different ways as there were questioners and questions, and we found the need of working out the great fundamental propositions as they have been brought to us to-day.

We have before this convention for consideration an improved tool for the working out of this great proposition, and many are the minds in this convention that have got into the whirlpool of economic thought and that will appreciate the value of this improved tool in the working out of the economic problems before us to-day. (Applause.)

DEL. THAMS: May I be allowed to give my time to Comrade Berger?

THE CHAIRMAN: Not without the consent of the convention.

DEL. THAMS: I move the previous question. Motion seconded.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): A question of information. Will this previous question compel a vote on the first program?

THE CHAIRMAN: It does not. It will compel a vote upon the substitute.

DEL. CARR: All right.

The motion on the previous question was put and carried.

DEL. SLOBODIN: Before recording my vote may I make a statement of why I vote?

THE CHAIRMAN: I presume ordinarily you have a right, in the absence of a rule to the contrary or objection. Objection was heard.

DEL. TITUS: A point of information. Do we not have two speakers now before we vote?

THE CHAIRMAN: We do. This is on the substitute. We do understand, my ruling will be this, that the carrying of the substitute or disposing of that will not bring us to a vote upon the majority report. There will be the same right of discussion.

THE SECRETARY: The substitute by Walsh of Montana is as follows: "The National Convention recommends that in the event of any Socialists being elected in localities on state or municipal tickets, that they be guided thereafter in all their legislative acts by considering, 'Is the legislation in the interests of the laboring class? If so I am for it, if not I am opposed to it.'"

DEL. SLOBODIN: I want to speak to the substitute.

DEL. HAWKINS (Neb.): A point of information. I want to know if we have the power of recording our ballot by States?

THE CHAIRMAN: That will be left to the convention.

A delegate moved to proceed to take a roll call on the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: I understand we have three speakers on a side. Comrade Slobodin wishes to speak in favor of the substitute.

Delegate Simons of Illinois stated that he wished to speak against the substitute.

DEL. SLOBODIN: I am in favor of the substitute, because I am against this concoction reported by the committee. I am not opposed, but am in favor of a working program, for this is not a working program, for the Socialist Party will not be able to work on this program.

It is a jumble of various demands made by various parties during the history of the reform movement. It is not a concrete and coherent statement of demands made by a proletarian Socialist Party. (Applause.) We do not need such a guide for the various changing conditions, but want a statement of the fundamentals of science Socialism. No reform will be able to accomplish the emancipation of the working class. This program contains a jumble of things put in there because some so-called Socialist stands for them, such as uniform text books, tax reforms and all sorts of ideas jumbled together.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I am afraid I wish to do something I never did before, ask you to keep a little quiet in order to hear me, as my voice has failed me. I am one of those who admit that there are some mistakes in this platform. While recognizing these defects, I had hoped that some might be amended, but I want to say that for the purpose of a working program I am here to fight for it. I am for it because I am a militant revolutionary Socialist and am not afraid to say where I stand on anything. I am for it because I am a class-conscious Socialist, and because you cannot fight the battle of the class-struggle anywhere but here and to-day in this present convention. (Applause.)

I am for a working program because I am a democratic Socialist and believe that the rank and file of the party in convention should determine the policies of the party and not leave them to their own sweet will to do as they see fit. (Applause.) I am for it because I am a proletarian Socialist, and because I believe that they ought to be controlled

as far as possible by an outline of the limits within which they must work, and not be subject to the autocratic dictation of some committee untrammelled by rules. (Applause.) Again, they have told us here that we needed no program until we had the co-operative commonwealth, until we had a complete victory. I am for a program because I am a scientific Socialist and not an idle dreamer. (Applause.) When the time comes that we shall have captured all portions of society, we will not need our programs, we will only need to take over the things that we can run as fast as the removal of difficulties will permit us to act. Again, it has been said that we must strike at the heart of this by striking out the position of the municipal secretary. I tell you, I have had some experience. When I was in Belgium I was talking over the details of the work with Comrade Emil Vinck. He has taken hold of the work and has done it so thoroughly that it has strengthened the party and the bureau has been able to furnish the members with all the information that they needed, until, by virtue of the very example that he has set, he has compelled the Socialist Party of France two years ago to follow his example, and it is followed by the party in Germany. Are we going to lag behind when we in America here in the next year will certainly send one hundred, if not a thousand men, into the legislative and municipal councils in this country? We need to know what they are going to do. During the last year good men were elected to municipal offices, but with not the slightest notion of what they were going to do. They were all agreed that they were working in the interest of the working class, but there were no two that had an idea what these interests were. These are some of the reasons why I ask you to accept a program to some extent, even if you are not able to go any further. Or if you can take the time, if you will indicate necessary amendments, I will agree with you there. But by all means do not leave us for another four years subject to a long string of abuses which we are just beginning to see the faint shadows of in half a dozen cities in this country, which will confuse the workers and hinder the progress of the party.

DEL. BOSKY (Minn.): A point of information. Is this list that has been

used on the table there, to apply to this question, or is it cancelled?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is cancelled; the previous question is moved.

DEL. BOSKY: That means that I have no right to speak?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, when the previous question is moved you have a right to vote it either up or down, as you please.

The secretary then read the substitute offered by Delegate Walsh. Delegate Walsh moved a roll call by states. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: It requires a majority vote to call for a roll call.

The question being put, the motion for a roll call was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: We now proceed upon the original question before the house, and that is the substitute.

Upon vote, the Chair declared the substitute defeated.

DEL. HILLQUIST (N. Y.): I move as a substitute for the report of the committee the following: "Resolved, that the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program be referred to the National Executive Committee for revision and adopted, the said report when so revised and adopted to have the force of a recommendation only."

Seconded.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): A point of order. I maintain that the Chair has no right to entertain the substitute unless there are one or two amendments before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken.

DEL. HILLQUIST: I appeal from the decision of the Chair. There was a motion before the house, a motion to adopt. I offered as a substitute that the report be not adopted but be referred to the National Committee for revision and adoption. It is fully in accord with parliamentary rules and procedure to entertain the substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: You offered it as a substitute.

Vice-Chairman Wilkins assumed the Chair, and the ruling of the Chair was sustained. Delegate Stedman resumed the Chair.

Delegate Webster (Ohio) rose.

DEL. BERGER: Mr. Chairman—
THE CHAIRMAN: The comrade

from Ohio has the floor unless you have a point of order or a question of personal privilege.

DEL. BERGER: A point of order. Have I a right to make an amendment?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, the whole report is open for amendment. Delegate Webster of Ohio has the floor.

DEL. WEBSTER: I move to amend the report by striking out the part beginning, "Whereas, the Committee on State and Municipal Program," and ending with the words just before "State Program." Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Please send the amendment up in writing. I will state this to the convention, that in dealing with all the motions I will try to confine myself to the particular paragraphs, and then we can dispose of them. It will be better than taking it up seriatim.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): The motions that have been already made will include all that matter.

THE CHAIRMAN: Will the Secretary read the paragraph as it reads as amended?

THE SECRETARY: The amendment of the gentleman from Ohio contemplates striking out of the preamble all of that portion beginning with "Whereas," in the sixth paragraph, and going down to the words "State Program."

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): I have an amendment to that.

The Secretary read the substitute of Delegate Berger, that the report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program be referred to the National Committee for revision and adoption, the said report when so revised and adopted to have the force of a recommendation only.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have now before us the entire report. There is a proposed amendment to a portion of the report. Now, if you want to dispose of that, do as you please, and then dispose of it all.

DEL. BERGER: I believe this that is offered is as good as a substitute for the whole. It embraces the whole.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the same as Delegate Hillquist's motion, and it is not in order at this time.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I am sure the mover of the amendment just made will accept a suggestion I am about to offer, and therefore I don't care to announce it as an amendment to the amendment. In order to include all that matter to which he refers it should strike out paragraph 6 above the word "Whereas" to "State Program." If you strike out what he has moved to strike out and leave that stand there, in the manner offered in the report—

DEL. WEBSTER: I accept the suggestion.

The question was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

DEL. TITUS (Wash.): There seems to be some misunderstanding as to the exact changes which they have made in their report from the printed report. I would like to ask for the reading of Section D, which does not stand in the report as it did stand in the printed copy. Also for the paragraph beginning "Therefore, be it resolved." I would like to ask if they have changed that. I don't know as they noticed this. It provides that the permanent secretary's office shall be at the National Headquarters. Have they changed that, too?

DEL. UTERMANN: You will see that Section D does not change the paragraph beginning "Therefore." Section D reads as follows: "The Committee on State and Municipal Affairs, shall, on the approval of the Executive Committee of the National Committee, elect a permanent secretary, whose office shall be at the national headquarters, and whose compensation shall be fixed by the Executive Committee of the National Committee."

DEL. GOAZIOU (Pa.): I hope this convention will not adopt the report of the committee—

THE CHAIRMAN: You will have to confine your remarks to the amendment.

DEL. GOAZIOU: I hope the convention will not accept the amendment, nor the report, which is liable to do harm to the Socialist Party. I am not against a working platform, but I am against a working platform as the expression of this convention. I hope this report will be sent to the various states or the various counties or locals. If we

have to discuss this program on its merits the discussion of every part of the program on its merits will take a week. I am not ready to swallow the whole thing as it is here, and I believe it ought to be referred. I have no objection to this program being distributed as literature.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion before the house is the amendment. Until that is disposed of you will be out of order.

DEL. GOAZIOU: Yes, the amendment should precede the whole report technically.

THE CHAIRMAN: When you get to the rest of the report that will be disposed of.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I wish to speak on the amendment, and I wish simply to say: Read the report, please, which suggests that it is a condensation of the encyclopedia, and then read the encyclopedia. This amendment will really handicap the party. The section which it is moved to strike out makes it possible, as soon as the Executive Committee deem it necessary, to make a practical and uniform plan. Now, I speak for Wisconsin, and I want to tell you that in Sheboygan if there had been such a committee and such a program and such a secretary as this the work there would have been different. That is all I want to say.

Delegate Weaver (Cal.) moved the previous question.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I desire to speak on the previous question when it is ordered.

The Vice-Chairman assumed the Chair and recognized Delegate Stedman.

The question being put on the previous question it was carried.

DEL. STEDMAN: I have no doubt but what if this was referred to the National Committee and they were to revise it, the collective wisdom of the National Committee would far exceed the puny knowledge of the committee that worked on it or the special committee of the last convention. But I sometimes think that if this convention should have a permanent committee on that subject, that would not pay great attention to national affairs, but would confine their attention to the one subject, that in the course of four or five months or perhaps ten, they might

have wisdom equal to some of those in the New York delegation. (Laughter.) I believe we should act along the line of the Indianapolis convention. I at that time urged the appointment of this committee. I believe the best results will ultimately be realized by a continuing committee upon this subject. I think we need committees to look after the national, municipal and local political work and the literary movement within the Socialist Party. At this time the Socialist movement with its growth and development should have special committees on special things to which they will devote their entire time, or at least a major portion of their time. For that reason I am against the proposed amendment and in favor of a continuing committee upon this subject. (Applause.)

DEL. WEBSTER (Ohio): I, like Comrade Simons, am a democratic Socialist, and I demand that a state shall have the privilege of paying for that which it wishes to have, and for no more. Now, as I understand, the comrades from Illinois, or at least a good many of them, are opposing this thing in toto. I am in favor of the general proposition, but I am not in favor of spending my money to keep a committee here to club them into submission to my ideas. (Cries, "Hear, hear," and applause.) For that very reason I do not want this committee given any such authority. If this report goes out to the people of the different states they will know whether this thing is best or not. We are just now in an experimental stage on this question of immediate demands. If the local in Chicago believe that the immediate demands are not the best thing for Socialism, I demand that they should have the right to try it without them. I believe for one that in Cleveland, Ohio, the demand for immediate demands will cause a growth in Socialism, and I want them to try that in Cleveland, but I do not want to compel these gentlemen in Chicago to help pay for our work in Cleveland.

The question was called for and Delegate Webster's amendment was defeated.

DEL. HILLQUIT: May I ask what is now before the convention?

THE CHAIRMAN: That portion of the report which has not been acted on. The entire report is before the convention.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Is it now in

der to move to refer the matter, the same as I have before?

THE CHAIRMAN: You moved before to refer to the National Committee as a whole for revision, they to revise it if possible?

DEL. HILLQUIT: Exactly.

THE CHAIRMAN: I suppose it is. Another motion intervened.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Then I so move now.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I move that the report be referred to the National Committee for revision and adoption, and that when so revised and adopted the report shall have the force of a recommendation only. (Seconded.) Now, I desire to state my reasons for my motion. I am practically in favor of a state and municipal program. I think a state and municipal program is absolutely necessary for a party that expects to do some work in the political field and does not want to do the work in a haphazard manner. But I am just as emphatically opposed to the present draft. I say that while I am in favor of a working program and of some of the points contained in this program, I would take some one to edit and go over it paragraph by paragraph and revise it. I will call the attention of the delegates to but a few things. For instance, on the public schools we have altogether unnecessary details. The provision for uniform school books, the provision for the choice of text books by a commission—they are all things that may be debatable, and we certainly cannot see why a proletarian party should stand for such things. I call the attention of the delegates to this clause: "Providing that members of the state militia are to be exempt from all other military service. What in the name of goodness and common sense does a Socialist convention have to do with that question?" (Applause.) And why should we want to confine the state militia to strike-breaking and to do military duty? I will call the attention of the delegates to this clause: "All land held for speculation and land not actually used by the owners to be subject to purchase by the state at an advance of ten per cent on the assessed valuation as fixed by the owner." If there is anything to encourage land speculation, why, that is the thing; give them ten

per cent more than they themselves ask. (Applause.) Public control of the entire liquor traffic; I don't know why this clause is necessary in a working class political program. And if you will read it from beginning to end you will find things of this kind all through. For instance, the right of privates in the state militia to elect their officers; can't you imagine anything more revolutionary, more class-conscious, than these demands to go before the public with? I say that if we adopt this as it stands we will make ourselves ridiculous. (Applause.) I say at the same time that we cannot leave this convention without making adequate provision for the adoption of a state and municipal program. Now, I believe that the only way to do will be to refer it to the National Committee. The National Committee may elect a sub-committee of three; not to put them like a jury in a room over night and have them work it out, but give them a month for it. Let them study the question; let them discuss it leisurely and sensibly and write it out, and then send it to the committee as a whole, and when they have adopted it it will be in time for the election of state and municipal officers to be guided by. We are now on the eve of an important state municipal election; let them discuss it; we can wait; but introduce something that we will not be ashamed of and have to explain for four years to come.

DEL. BOSKY (Minn.): A point of information. Is there any way for me to get on the floor and say something against this motion?

THE CHAIRMAN: I will recognize you next.

DEL. UTERMANN: Judged by the repeated questions as to the sanity of mind of your committee, which have chiefly been raised on the part of the New York delegation, you would think the whole intelligence and common sense of this convention was massed in the New York delegation. We have studied this thing and talked it over carefully and long and discussed every position. I will just notice one point, as to the militia. The question is asked, what in the name of common sense has the question of the militia got to do with a class-conscious Socialist program? The men and women who act together as class-conscious So-

cialists may want to use the militia. Now, in order to be able to use the militia we will have to knock out the present militia law, which takes the control of the militia out of the hands of the state authorities and places it in the hands of the capitalist president. When we take the control of the state into our hands we want to have the control of that militia, and not the capitalist president.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): A point of order. I desire Comrade Untermyer to talk to the motion made by Comrade Hillquit of New York.

DEL. UTERMANN: I am explaining why we took this action.

THE CHAIRMAN: You rise to a point of order, but carry on an argument. What is your point of order?

DEL. MEYER: My point is that he should speak to the motion to refer this to the committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point is not well taken.

Delegate Collins (Ill.) raised a similar point of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The comrade from New York pointed out one paragraph of the program. Delegate Untermyer at the present time is answering the point made by Comrade Hillquit in regard to the militia.

DEL. UTERMANN: The point has been made that the reasoning faculties of the committee are out of order, and I am trying to show what we did, and in order to do so I must be able to make my point. But I do not care to discuss it any further than just to say that in regard to the militia law we did know what we were doing, and that in every case we knew what we were doing, though it may displease the New York delegation.

DEL. BOSKY (Minn.): I have tried to get the floor, and could not, and now if there is any possible chance I want to talk on this program, or amendment, or substitute.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have the floor now. Your three minutes are running now.

DEL. BOSKY: I say that great confusion exists as to this whole question. Some reason that a program will be all right here because it has worked in Germany. We have heard of the great success of the Socialist Party in Ger-

many. But you forget that the conditions over there are entirely different. In Germany they have an emperor, and the Socialist Party has nearly four million votes. But here the situation is altogether different. We have got a constitution, and when we get a majority then we can take the powers of government into our hands. But this will take a long time. We all agree on what we want; we only disagree on the tactics to be adopted in this convention. Comrade Berger of Wisconsin thinks they have had great success, but the success is only temporary.

DEL. HERRON (N. Y.): I wish simply to call the attention of the convention to the fact that Comrade Hillquit's motion amounts to a substantial adoption of the report of the committee. There seems to be an apprehension in the minds of some that the passage of his motion to refer to the National Committee is equivalent to a rejection of his report. Such is not the case. His motion to refer would amount practically to an adoption of this report, only it is to be revised and edited by a committee appointed by the National Committee. Now, comrades, do not put some of us in the position of being obliged to put ourselves on record as voting against a state and municipal program when we are not in any such attitude as that. I have always been and have only recently written in favor of a practical working program to be put into the hands of aldermen and state legislators who shall be elected. We are heartily in favor of this. The New York delegation has been referred to as being opposed to a working program. Such is not the case, but this motion has been made to revise because we are in favor of securing a working program that shall not have in its elements that will be misleading, and will be not only misleading but dangerous. It is certainly very true, and we all agree, that if the Socialist Party is to elect men to political office they should have political experience, and they should understand how to initiate legislation even when they are in the minority. If we had had a program we would not have had the experience that we have had in some of the states, perhaps in some of the Massachusetts municipalities. The adoption of the motion of Comrade Hillquit will result in the reference of the program to a special committee appointed by the Na-

tional Committee, and then the report will come before you adopted, and we can put ourselves upon record as voting for it, as we desire to do. It will come before you adopted and revised, with some of these features which are misleading properly edited or revised, so that they can go before the party of the country as a working program. I merely want to call your attention to that fact.

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): I have an amendment, that said report shall be—

THE CHAIRMAN: Send the amendment up. Comrade Spears offers an amendment to the motion to refer.

DEL. SPEARS: I am opposed to referring it to the National Executive Committee alone to decide the question. I was in favor of moving this amendment to refer the whole matter to a referendum of the entire membership, but the Chairman would not allow me to do so. Now, I propose to state my position on the whole thing in this way: We are a minority party, and we must oppose anything in the line of mere reform, and every bit of that program is reform, and I don't want any of it. I want our legislators in office to be the same as I when I go out on the soap box or in the factory or shop opposing the capitalist class, not by reform or compromise measures that may some way help one or another of the different branches of labor and be injurious to the whole movement for all time. I want to get the whole thing as fast as I can get it. I am opposed to the motion as it stands now. I would have been in favor, if I could have got my amendment, of sending it to a referendum afterwards. I have no more confidence in a committee of seven or nine than in the Executive Committee. I have great confidence in the membership. I do not even want to leave it to this convention. I want to leave it to the membership, and when the membership decides that in the interest of the Socialist movement they want to have that, all right, I will have to submit, because I am a part of them, but I won't preach it.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): There is no warmer friend of a practical working program in this convention than Victor Berger himself. We must have a program for the guidance of the united army of Socialism. We had almost 20-

00 Socialist votes in Milwaukee, which means almost one-third of the entire vote. We had a working program there, and we must have a program. Now, I am saying this in order to satisfy you and make it certain to every one of you that we are in favor of a working program. But this report that is given to us by the committee is not a working program. It is a real impossibilist program. There are some things in it that are simply impossible and ridiculous. (Applause.) I cannot tell the people in Milwaukee to select some of those planks; they are all impossibilist planks. Now, I can see that for once Chicago and Milwaukee agree. Now, comrades, the best possible way out of it is to refer this to the National Committee. You have 31 people there, selected for their special fitness for propaganda. They will go over it carefully, and if necessary bring it before a referendum of the party. If that is done I will leave it to the referendum, I promise you. (Applause.) I am not afraid of the judgment of the membership of the Socialist Party of America. I know what the judgment of the Socialist Party in Wisconsin is, and we are not so much more intelligent than the rest. Now, comrades, those of you who are in favor of a municipal program ought to be willing to refer. Those who are not also ought to refer, because this will give you a chance to discuss it. Please have it referred to the National Committee. I thank you.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): A question of personal privilege. Isn't the substitute before the house?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL. MEYER: Then I raise the point of order that the discussion is not in order. It is the same point I raised awhile ago when you decided it was not in order.

THE CHAIRMAN: This point is a motion to refer.

DEL. MEYER: To refer the substitute. There is an amendment, and I desire to move the motion on the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Mills has the floor. He wants to make a point later. I will give you the floor and I will entertain a motion to amend.

DEL. SPEARS: A point of order. You refused my motion to amend.

THE CHAIRMAN: That may be. Comrade Mills has the floor.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): I have only three minutes, and I would like to have order while I speak. I do not think there is any dispute of such a nature as leaves any question as to how this convention will act on the matter of a working program. The only question now before us seems to be the question as to how the admitted mistakes in the program as submitted shall best be remedied. If you will read again the report itself, it provides for a standing committee on the municipal program subject which shall not make a recommendation and go out of existence as this motion proposes, but shall remain in existence and be all the time in a position to repeat the recommendations throughout the year and the years. The standing committee which we have had has been doing some work during the previous years, and it is simply a question now whether the admitted mistakes shall be revised by this convention here and now, or shall be left in the hands of the standing committee of specialists appointed on this subject, or shall be referred to the National Committee, made up of men living in thirty different states, who never have seen each other yet and do not know each other. The members of this committee, have spent a long time, and have turned the whole matter over to you. I as a member of that same committee urge that this matter shall not be given to the National Committee, but that it shall be disposed of by this convention or shall be left in the hands of the Municipal Committee which is proposed under the resolutions now before the house. (Applause.)

DEL. CAREY (Mass.): I have unfortunately happened to be one of those Socialists who have been elected. I have a long record, five terms in the legislature and one in city government. I am for a working program, but I am not for that working program (applause). There are many things in there, as has been mentioned, that I believe should have no part or place in a socialist recommendation even. (Applause.) I am sure that it is not within the power of this convention to have not the time now, for we are going home, many of us—to enable us to give this matter consideration in all the several details of its multitudinousness

—that is a good word—to go over all the ten thousand recommendations and consider each of them on their merits, together with all the numerous amendments and counter amendments and points of order and every other thing it would take us until at least a week after the next national campaign before we got to the end of it. The thing is to refer it somewhere, to some committee that can make such alterations as will make it a document that I personally would be proud of. And then, if, after it is thus improved, any other comrade or body of comrades want to submit it thus improved to the membership, I will vote for its submission. So I ask of the convention that whatever we may do, whether it is a question of reference to the National Committee or of reference to a standing committee on municipal program, give it to some body of people, to the Municipal Committee or to the National Committee. I say that because I am for a program, but I say it because while I will be forced to vote for it as it is, because I want a program, yet I do not desire to go out from this convention standing for some of the propositions contained in that report. So I say the best way out of it, the intelligent way out of it, is to refer it to a committee to edit it, improve it, and then let the membership act finally on it if a referendum is demanded.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): Am I in order to move the previous question?

THE CHAIRMAN: No.

DEL. HAYES: Then I will hold the floor—

DEL. SPEARS: There is an amendment here.

DEL. HAYES: I move the previous question. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will have to put it. The previous question is moved and seconded. All in favor of putting the previous question will signify it by saying Aye. Contrary No. Carried.

DEL. HAYES: I want to speak in favor of comrade Hillquit's motion.

DEL. OTT (Wyo.): I want to speak against.

THE CHAIRMAN: All right.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): I think one of the meanest things I ever saw on the floor of a convention has just occurred.

THE CHAIRMAN: You are not in order now. I have recognized some one else.

Delegate Phelan protested against the ruling, which was followed by considerable confusion, and the Chairman rapped for order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The previous question has been moved. Is there any other person who wishes to speak in favor of reference?

DEL. COLLINS (Ill.): Some of the members are in doubt as to how we should vote. If the amendment of Comrade Hillquit passed, will it go to a referendum vote afterwards? That is what we want to know?

THE CHAIRMAN: I cannot tell. It may be buried by the National Committee. No one can tell that. I am not here as a prophet. I do not know what the National Committee will do with it. The only thing I know is the motion before the house, which is to refer it to the National Committee. I will recognize Comrade Meyer.

DEL. HERRON: A point of order. You stated to the convention that this is to refer to the National Committee. It is to refer to the National Committee for adoption. That is the resolution.

The Secretary, being called on, read Delegate Hillquit's motion.

DEL. CARR: A question of personal privilege. I have been trying for some time to get the floor to move an amendment to refer it to the party after the National Committee shall revise it. I believe it would certainly be the sense of this convention that that ought to be done.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I will accept the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is accepted by the mover of the original motion that it be referred to a general referendum.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): Mr. Chairman, there is one constitutional provision—

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): A point of information. If this amendment carries we refer to the National Executive Committee for revision and adoption and then to have the force of a recommendation only, does that mean that it carries with it the election or appointment of this committee mentioned in there who will have the power to name a secretary or elect a secretary

and add that expense to the national treasury?

DEL. HILLQUIT: I will state that the National Committee may revise it in that respect or in any other, and when revised it will go to the membership on referendum.

DEL. DALTON: Is a referendum provided for?

DEL. HILLQUIT: It is provided for.

DEL. SPEARS: Will the submission to the referendum be clause by clause or as a whole?

DEL. LANGWORTHY (Texas): Adoption as a whole.

DEL. TAFT (Ill.): A point of order. The previous question has been called for, and we should vote on the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken. Will the Secretary please read the motion?

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I rise to a question of personal privilege. About a fourth of the members have asked for recognition and have been recognized. My name is on the list, but it has not been called, and I have repeatedly asked for the floor since. I see no good reason for it. I am asking for information.

The question was called for.

DEL. WOODBEY: I have not got the amendment. I have nothing except the original motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is that it be referred by the National Committee to a referendum of the party.

DEL. WOODBEY: I ask the Chairman to please answer my question.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is impossible. There are lots of questions I can't answer, and that is one of them. There is nothing before the house at the present time, but the substitute to refer, which the secretary will please read.

The Secretary read the motion as follows: "That the report of the committee on State and Municipal Program be referred to the National Committee for immediate revision and adoption, the said report when so revised and adopted to have the force of a recommendation only, when approved by referendum."

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I move to amend by striking out the latter part

and inserting that it shall be referred to the party for adoption.

THE CHAIRMAN: Write out your amendment and send it up.

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): When he gives you his amendment I wish to have the motion read as follows: "That this report be referred to the National Committee, and this committee shall refer it to the membership of the party." (Seconded.) That is all I desire to say. I want a vote taken on that.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I simply want to plead that I wish to have discussion and for further alteration, because of the fact that we need the education and the time that we spend in discussing this will not be wasted. There are some things in it I do not like and many that you do not like, but at any rate if you pass this and send it to a referendum, I am pretty sure we will do a lot of educational work on State and Municipal Program. (Applause.)

The motion to refer was then put and declared adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Committee on Resolutions, I understand, has a resolution to offer. You have adopted the constitution but you have not heard the final report of the Committee on Resolutions, and you have made no provision for the campaign. The Committee on Resolutions has the floor.

Report of Committee on Resolutions.

DEL. SPARGO, of the Committee: Comrade Chairman and comrades, you have already before you in print a resolution from Local San Francisco. The resolution reads:

"Resolved, by the Socialist party of America in convention assembled, that the Socialist party condemn all propaganda organizations not connected with the Socialist party doing Socialist propaganda, and that no member of the Socialist party shall be a member of any organization not affiliated with the Socialist Party. If such organization is doing Socialist propaganda, being a member of any organization as before mentioned shall be sufficient cause for expulsion from the Socialist party."

Your committee moves that it be not adopted. (Applause.) Motion seconded.

It was moved and seconded that the report of the committee be concurred in. Carried.

DEL. SPARGO: Resolution submitted to the convention at the desire of the state of Washington as expressed in a referendum vote:

"Be it resolved, that no county state or national official in the Socialist party shall at any time hold an editorial or any other literary position on any capitalist paper or on any other paper not in harmony with the program of the International Socialist Party and the Socialist Party of America; provided, however, that the holding of such position shall not affect any comrades' standing in the party."

Your committee also moves that this resolution be not adopted. Seconded.

DEL. TITUS: I wish to ask a question not as a matter of debate. Will somebody on this floor tell me exactly what the action taken in the German convention was on these lines?

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not know. The Chair cannot tell you exactly I remember reading a translation but I cannot tell you. If there is anyone who can tell me might go to Comrade Titus and tell him. It is no longer a point of information.

Delegate Untermyann offered to answer the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair holds that the only thing now before us is the regular order. Proceed, Comrade Titus.

DEL. TITUS: I wish to ask that the Chair allow Comrade Untermyann to answer that question.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is all right, you make the motion that it is the sense of the convention that Comrade Untermyann should answer the question. Are you ready for the question? All in favor will say aye. Contrary, no. Comrade Untermyann, it is up to you.

DEL. UTERMANN: The question in Dresden was not simply whether Socialists should be permitted to work on capitalist papers. The question was whether it was good tactics for a Socialist to write his grievances in a capitalist paper instead of a Socialist paper. Some of the opportunists had gone into such bourgeois papers instead of the party press when they had been turned down in their Socialist locals in Germany. Therefore the whole question

of the relation of Socialists to the party press came up, and it was decided finally that scientific papers, trade papers, and the like had nothing to do with the question and should not be ruled out, but it was decided that no Socialist should be permitted to write for any capitalist paper that viciously attacked the Socialist party.

DEL. TITUS: I had nothing to do with introducing this resolution in the state of Washington, and personally I am not in favor of it, but I am instructed by our state to support it to the best of my ability, though I do not know of any strong arguments to present in favor of it at this time. (Laughter.) But I called out the information given by Comrade Untermyann concerning the German action and leave it to you to act. On motion the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

DEL. SPARGO: Resolution submitted by Delegate Reynolds of Indiana:

"Whereas, capitalism keeps the working class in subjection through force and through fraud; and

"Whereas, with the spread of Socialist philosophy and revolutionary ideals which are rapidly permeating the American people, it becomes and the American people, it becomes increasingly difficult to deceive the masses or to practice frauds successfully at the polls; and

"Whereas, capitalism is already turning to its last weapon and mainstay to check the rising revolutionary tide, namely, violent suppression by the army and militia; and

"Whereas, it has been made exceptionally difficult to weaken the strong right arm of plutocracy by impregnating the army and the militia with Socialism; therefore, be it

"Resolved, that we recognize the tremendous importance and the present necessity of making the rank and file of the army and militia disloyal to their brutal masters and loyal to their class and to the better future civilization.

"Resolved, that we hereby authorize and direct our National Executive Committee to take such action for the formation and concentrating of specialized determined propaganda for Socialism among the privates of the army and the militia over the entire country and its colonies."

Your committee moves that it be not adopted. (Seconded.)

DEL. MEYER (Ill.): I would like to ask the committee why it makes that report. Will it please explain?

THE CHAIRMAN: Does the committee wish to give its reasons?

DEL. SPARGO: The committee has no objection to doing so. The committee feels that at this time there is no particular reason why we should undertake a specialized propaganda among the military forces of the country. The committee also feels that it would be exceedingly difficult to do it, and that it would be unfortunate for the Socialist party in America to be precipitated into anything rashly at this time.

The question was called for, and the recommendation of the committee was concurred in.

DEL. SPARGO: Your committee desires to make this motion, desires its adoption, and then desires to be discharged:

"The convention desires to place upon record its appreciation of the arrangements made by the local comrades for the convention, and the comfort and entertainment of the visiting delegates and their friends. To their efforts much of the success of this convention may be attributed, and we earnestly hope that the local movement will derive lasting benefit and inspiration from this historic gathering. We also desire to acknowledge with thanks the efficient assistance rendered to the convention by the national office staff. By their uniform courtesy and willingness to assist upon every occasion they have won the thanks of every delegate and of the movement they represent."

Your committee moves its adoption. (Seconded.)

The motion being put, was unanimously carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee is discharged, with the thanks of this convention.

The Committee on Credentials, and the Committee on Local Quorum being called on, announced that they had no further report to make, and they were discharged.

The Committee on Platform, through its chairman, made an announcement:

DEL. HERRON: In printing the platforms that were distributed yesterday in the convention hall there were several typographical errors. In one case a whole line was dropped out, changing the meaning. I would ask that the members of the convention as they leave the hall take the programs which they have today and the platforms with the typographical errors corrected.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection the report of the committee will be received and the committee discharged.

Report of Committee on Ways and Means.

The Committee on Ways and Means being called on, reported through the Secretary, Delegate Kerrigan of Texas.

DEL. KERRIGAN: As secretary of the Committee on Ways and Means I desire to present the following further recommendations adopted by the committee:

"That the Socialist party of America adopt and copyright the platform, to be sold exclusively by the National Secretary at such price as the National Committee shall fix.

"That the Socialist party adopt and copyright a badge to be sold exclusively by the National Secretary at such price as the National Committee shall fix.

"That the Socialist party of America shall adopt and copyright a flag and have the same made in various sizes suitable for hall decorations, parties, etc., the same to be sold exclusively by the National Secretary at a price fixed by the National Committee.

"All profits arising from the sales of the foregoing to be placed to the credit of the National agitation and organization fund."

This recommendation was adopted unanimously. The next one I will not sign, as I do not think the recommendation should be made by our committee. However, it was moved and carried that it be presented. It was adopted that—

"We recommend to the convention that the National Secretary and his assistant be made bonded officers."

"We recommend that the 4th day of July, 1904, be set aside by the Socialist party of America as Party Funds Day, and that all members of the party be called upon to give that day to

collections and forwarding to the National Secretary such sums as they may desire raise, such collections to be placed to the credit of the agitation and organization fund, and that this day may hereafter be known as Party Funds Day, on which the membership will be called upon to act in the same manner.

"The committee recommends that the price of comrades in uniform parts of the country, of writing letters and circulars to secretaries of locals in various states, appealing for funds for many presumably meritorious propositions, be discontinued. However, your committee does not think this way of raising funds should be discontinued providing the consent of the State Committee of the state in which the funds are attempted to be collected is first obtained.

"Your committee recommends that persons asking for contributions from the membership of the parties of various states be required to ask for such contributions through the state secretaries of such states.

"We recommend that three per cent of the profits on all entertainments, picnics, etc., given by the state, local or branch organizations of the Socialist Party be paid to the National Secretary for the credit of the national organization fund.

"Your committee presents to you a working plan and a method of issuing party funds by means of adopting a label on approval, for use on all literature to be read or circulated by the party members. The label follows in a general way the plan adopted by the Typographical Union in its use of the label to show that the printing is done by union men. No the label presented would show that the literature bearing the party label had the official approval of the party."

The committee voted unanimously to recommend its use on books, pamphlets and leaflets, but were a tie as to periodicals, as only eight members were present, one member being absent from the meeting. We are of the opinion that the use of this label seems practical in every way, and if adopted would be the means of producing much needed revenue for the party. The committee further desires to state that concerning the working plan prepared by me of some length necessarily, and unless the convention desires it it will not be read.

It would probably take ten or fifteen minutes to read the plan in all its details. The committee further is of the opinion that something should be done in order to stop the practice of circulating books and other literature without any compensation to the party and some means of controlling such matters. We think that the party is entitled to some compensation for the work of its membership and the fact that its agitators and organizers are continually enlarging the existing market for Socialist literature and making a new market. Now, it will be entirely with the convention as to just what disposition will be made of the present report. I presume that the report should be disposed of in the regular way if so desired.

Delegate Miller of Colorado moved that the report be referred to the National Committee for such action as it may deem best. Motion seconded and carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection, the committee will be discharged. The report of the Auditing Committee is next in order.

The National Campaign Fund.

DEL. MAILLY: I did not have time to make this motion before, as I was busy writing it at the time you passed to the next order of business. I ask permission to introduce this resolution now.

Consent was given.

Delegate Mailly then read the following resolution: "Resolved, That this Socialist Party recommends that party members donate during the month of June, 1904, one-half day's wages to the National Campaign Fund, one-third of the amount derived therefrom to be retained by the local, one-third by the state, and one-third by the national organization."

On motion the resolution was adopted.

The Auditing Committee reported through Secretary Dolbs that the books of the National Secretary were found to be in good condition and recommended that a permanent auditing committee be appointed.

On motion, duly seconded, the report of the committee was accepted, the recommendation accompanying the report adopted, and the committee discharged.

DEL. HERRON: Mr. Chairman, it was stated here on the floor of the convention by Comrade Maily, day before yesterday, that at the close of this convention he would hand in his resignation as National Secretary, and I rise for one, not only to speak my own protest, but what I hope will be the protest of this convention, against the resignation of Comrade Maily, especially at this crucial time. It would be a matter of great calamity, as Comrade Titus said, to the party as a whole and to the development of the movement if Comrade Maily should present his resignation now, upon the eve of the national campaign, and for that matter, if he should present it at all. I take, I believe, all the responsibility upon myself in this matter, because when Comrade Maily was upon a bed of sickness and had put me under bonds not to nominate him for this position, and as it was known to us in New York, he has remained in this position very largely at the urgent request of many of his friends with whom he was formerly associated, and he has done it against his own will, against his own desires. He has desired very much to go back to work, which he would rather engage in, but I feel that notwithstanding what he has said, and notwithstanding his own desire in the matter, it is, I know, urgently desired that he withdraw his resignation for a number of months. I feel that we as a convention should request him that he withhold his resignation permanently if he will, but if not permanently, to withdraw it at least until the end of the national campaign and the national election. (Applause.) And, therefore, I make a motion to that effect, that not merely as an expression of our appreciation of Comrade Maily's splendid services, because I know we feel all that, but as a matter of interest to the Socialist Party upon the eve of the election. I make the motion that he be requested to withhold his resignation either permanently, or if not permanently, until after the close of the national campaign. Motion seconded.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.): As a member of the Local Quorum and in behalf of my friend, Comrade Eugene V. Delb, whose services I believe I express, I second the motion of Comrade Herron.

I believe it is the duty of Comrade Maily not to desert, and especially when we are right on the eve of battle, but to stand by the banner-bearer of the party at least until the election. (Applause.) I hope that Comrade Maily will so understand his duty as a soldier of the Socialist revolution that he will stand through the battle and serve as he had promised, at least up to January 1st, 1905.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): It seems to me as though I am a measure responsible for the unfortunate condition that prevailed at the time Comrade Maily took the attitude that he did. It seems to me as though the climax that had been reached immediately preceding Comrade Maily's manly attitude on this question was principally due to the bungling methods with which I, as the chairman of that day, attempted to handle the business immediately preceding that act. It seems to me that at this time I ought to say that from my point of view at least I should have refused to entertain Comrade Maily at the time he took the floor, or others who unfortunately in the heat of battle said things against which the sensitive mind of anybody would rise. And it seems to me that to ask pardon is to do meager justice under the circumstances. Now, I want to call Comrade Maily's attention to the fact that the Socialist Party of America is composed of recruits who have enlisted in the army of the working class, and that from among these recruits, these enlisted men, we select our officers, and that we do not concede the right to our officers to resign at pleasure. (Applause.) I insist that while Comrade Maily owes it to his own self-respect to see that his own name and his own reputation are preserved, that he owes it to this movement to give, within the next few critical months, the immense capabilities he possesses to work in the interest of the working class of this country, if Comrade Maily will stay all the conditions. (Applause.)

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): I was talking this matter over some little time ago with Comrade Debs, and Comrade Debs and myself came to a unanimous conclusion in the matter. We were of the opinion that we ought to accept Comrade Maily's resignation, and I came to take effect on the 31st of next January. I believe his term expires on

the following day. (Laughter.) I want to say, however, that I am peculiarly fortunate in being able to know some thing about Comrade Maily. Some of you know I went out on a lecture tour not long ago, and I never realized what that tour was over. I must say that any man that can retain his self-control and continually give back the salt answer that turneth away wrath under the aggravation of the letters from his self and committees and members and others, is certainly fully qualified for that position. I suppose Maily possibly must have had a notion existing somewhere down in his heart that perhaps I did not mean all I said, or that I was laboring under difficulties, or something of that kind. But while we do not need to admit for a moment that in our movement there is any such thing as the indispensable man, I do insist that from time to time we run across the man for the job, and when it comes to the question of National Secretaryship as shown by his performance of his services in the office, the man for the job is William Maily, and we want him to stay right there.

The question was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: I would suggest that the date for the resignation be set for the 29th or 30th of some February. All in favor of the motion will signify it by saying aye. Contrary no. The motion is carried. Comrade Maily has to serve. (Applause.)

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Ore.): I want to ask if Comrade Maily tendered his resignation.

THE CHAIRMAN: He did not say he did.

DEL. MAILLY: Mr. Chairman and Comrades, if I had known that my words of two days ago would have resulted in this action I certainly would not have uttered them. I only want to say to this convention that I am a Socialist that belongs to the working class. I believe in discipline. I believe in the working class organization, in order to achieve its emancipation. Believing that, I would be a poor soldier, I would be a poor Socialist, if I did not accept the call or demand of those with whom I am organized and of the movement of which I am a part. (Applause.) I would be lacking in the commonest, the

lowest qualities of human nature if I did not appreciate your action. The only thing that I have to resent is the imputation that in this movement, this working class movement, there is only one man that can fill this job. I had hoped that in the interval between Thursday and to-day the delegates to this body would have selected one among their number or among the party membership whom they would deem capable of filling the position. I believe you have such men. I would think very little of the Socialist movement if I believed that there was only one man capable of filling any job in the party. (Applause.) But under the circumstances, in view of the present situation, I shall reconsider my determination, and I shall serve in the present position, in view of your command, so, in taking up this work again, in renewing my services in the national office, I pledge to you and pledge to those behind you, to the working class of this country and to those behind them again, the working class of the world, the best capacity, the best ability, the greatest devotion that I can give to this movement—the one movement worth living for, and the one movement worth dying for. (Applause.)

Report of the Committee on Foreign-Speaking Organizations.

THE CHAIRMAN: We will now listen to the report of the Committee on Foreign-Speaking Organizations.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.) of the Committee: On request of the Credentials Committee, a Committee on Foreign-Speaking Organizations was appointed. Delegate Lee was the chairman of that committee. He is exhausted with the work of the convention, especially on him, and has asked me to report in behalf of that committee, which I heartily do. I will not trouble you with a recital of all that came before the committee. Two organizations were represented before the committee, the Polish Socialist Alliance and the Federation of Italian branches in the State of New Jersey. I will not read it all; it is too late. Our recommendation takes the form of a suggestion of a section or series of sections for the constitution, and in order that we may avoid an interminable discussion I

move, on behalf of the committee, unless there are objections from members of the committee, that this matter be referred to the National Committee or Executive Committee, and by them to a referendum as an amendment to the constitution, that when endorsed by their respective state organizations, locals may be organized among those who cannot speak English, in the language which they most readily use.

The report of the committee in full is as follows:

When endorsed by the respective state organizations, locals may be organized among those who cannot speak English in the language which they most readily use.

Members of these branches shall pay state and national dues, shall affiliate with the respective state and local organizations, and be subject to the laws and shall be in all respects equal in rights and duties with all other members of the party.

Locals so organized may form state and local organizations within the regular party organization.

When the locals shall have been organized in any one of the foreign nationalities, they may on application to the National Committee secure the right to organize a national executive committee for that nationality, the members of which executive committee shall be subject to approval by the National Committee.

Any difficulties arising on account of the organization of foreign-speaking locals, shall be referred for settlement to the respective executive committees with appeal to the National Committee.

Each nationality so organized shall have the right to two delegates to the national convention, having voice and vote on matters affecting respective nationalities.

The office of the National Secretary shall facilitate the work of any such Executive Committee, and wherever practicable, the work shall be carried on at the national office.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I move the adoption of the report and recommendation of the committee.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. J. S. SMITH (Ill.): I rise simply to ask a question of the committee whether in their opinion this plan would not give those foreign-speaking

organizations double representation, and whether they will be part and parcel of the respective state and local organizations and thereby participate in the election of delegates to the national convention; and, second, part and parcel of their own organization, again participating in the election of their delegates to this same national convention.

DEL. GAYLORD: It was the opinion of the committee that the degree of double representation indicated by the proposed amendment is not of such sort as to endanger in any respect the rights or safety of the party organization, inasmuch as these two delegates are limited to voice and vote upon matters especially affecting their respective organizations.

DEL. LEE (N. Y.): I believe no member of the committee will object if I should be insisted upon that those two delegates from each foreign speaking organization be given simply a voice without a vote. I should not favor that, but I believe the members of the committee will accept the amendment if it is insisted upon.

THE CHAIRMAN: The committee accepts the suggestion of Comrade Smith?

DEL. GAYLORD: If it is insisted upon.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you insist upon it, Comrade Smith?

DEL. SMITH: In justice to those who speak English, I do.

DEL. LEE: The committee understands that they speak only on questions affecting the respective nationalities. You still insist that they shall not have a vote but only a voice?

DEL. SMITH: I do not, provided that it is embodied in this recommendation.

DEL. GAYLORD: It is so embodied.

DEL. LEE: They should vote upon questions affecting their nationalities.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to speak against the adoption of these rules. I think, as the constitution stands to-day, there is absolutely nothing to prohibit the organization of such foreign-speaking organizations as shall be desired, nor is there any provision against the united action of several of such locals within one state or in any geographical division or territory for the purpose of propaganda work. I

think, however, a system like the one proposed, the organization of a party within the party and an official recognition of it, and the creation of a national executive committee of one certain language or branch of the party membership, will have a tendency to create division and antagonisms within the ranks of the party. We have had that in olden times. We have had it among the Jewish speaking branches of the party, and it has created a good deal of dissatisfaction. Where you have a separate group within a party with separate interests in some respects which is undesirable, I think that the only thing we can do in behalf of the foreign speaking residents of this country would be to urge upon the National Committee hereafter that they pay more attention to agitation and organization among the non-English-speaking residents of the United States. Our party organization is flexible enough to admit them within the party organization and allow them facilities for propaganda in their own language, and that is the only thing to be accorded to them. We are working on political lines; we are divided into states, and the states into locals, and in the locals we are again divided into ward branches, and must be so divided to exercise political activity. We could allow a number of Polish speaking comrades or Italian or German speaking comrades to form propaganda clubs or some such special divisions, but you cannot cut them all from the organization to which they belong according to their residence. I am much afraid that this resolution as it reads now will be misleading and confusing in many respects—I therefore move as a substitute that we recommend to the National Committee that they hereafter give special attention to agitation and organization among non-English-speaking residents of the United States.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. LANGWORTHY (Tex.): I am somewhat like Comrade Hillquit as to the formation of federations in the various languages. Under certain circumstances I think it would be necessary. The French-speaking element, for instance, thought some time ago that it would be to the advantage of propaganda amongst them to have a federation affiliated with the national organization. A proposition was submitted

to the National Secretary and by him referred to the National Quorum, and they returned a back to this convention. Since that time the local that I belong to passed a resolution that it favored a continuance of the present form of organization among the foreign-speaking element on one condition. That condition is that the documents and literature that should be sent from the national office should be sent out to the various locals in their respective languages so that they would not have to hunt up interpreters to read the correspondence that would come from the national or state officers. I could have organized a large number of organizations of French-speaking people and various others, but the trouble has been that under the present form of organization they could not find the necessary element among themselves to do the correspondence in the English language with the state or national office, and the result is that several localities which had been organized dropped out, lapsed, if you please, just for the reason that they could not find the necessary material to do the necessary correspondence. I believe if you would come to Chicago you would have men who are able to do the writing or the languages in the various languages. If this was done I believe we would not need any federation of foreign nationalities. I believe that in the forming of federations there is always danger; that is, there is the danger of conflict of interest between one or two individuals in the foreign federation and the national organization. For instance, if the National Secretary of a foreign organization, whether it be French, German or any nationality, failed to agree with the national office his influence would to some extent or entirely draw the organization away from the Socialist party, something that would not be done in the ordinary present form of organization if the literature would be printed in the various foreign languages.

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): I am in favor of the substitute or amendment offered by Comrade Hillquit, because I think it will solve the question. I am opposed to the admission, in a general way, of these different organizations in the way proposed by the committee, for the reason that they say they allow the states to give the authority. Now, these organizations have national organiza-

tions; they have locals in New York and Chicago, say; suppose that New York accepts them and Illinois refuses them, there will be a conflict. The thing should be settled by the Executive Committee themselves. Let them settle it and let them try to get those comrades to go into the older organizations and to learn English if they intend to be in an English-speaking country. Of course I know it is troublesome where they can only speak one language. I am in favor of the substitute.

The question was called for.

DEL. DEUTZMAN (Cal.): I am a foreigner, but I am opposed to having inside of our party any organization composed of foreign-speaking members alone. I am in favor of having propaganda clubs, but am opposed to having foreign clubs transact the business of the Socialist party. I think we should urge the forming of such clubs among foreigners, but at the same time I do not think that they should transact the business of the party in a foreign language, because as a result there will certainly be people there who can speak English and they will mislead the people that do not understand the English language, by making misstatements or misinterpretations of that which is done in the English language. I have seen it done and know it. Therefore, I am opposed to taking any foreign organization or federation as such into the party.

The question was then put on referring the matter to the National Committee, and it was carried.

Supplementary Report of Trades Union Committees.

The Committee on Trades Unions, through Delegate Hayes of Ohio, presented the following supplementary report:

Resolved, That the Socialist party warns the organized workers of this country to be on their guard against attacks upon their funds and we demand national and state legislation protecting these funds as well as the property of individual unionists against damages for alleged injuries inflicted by picketing, strikes and boycotts.

Resolved, That the Socialist party declares its unalterable opposition to the introduction of the vicious open-shop system; we demand in the name

of the workers of America the union shop, not only in privately-owned industry, but in all the governmental institutions of the nation, states and municipalities;

Resolved, That we demand union conditions on all purchases and contracts made by the nation, cities and states, not only a maximum eight-hour working day, but also the prevailing union scale of wages; and we point to the hostile attitude of the republican and democratic parties in congress, in Colorado and other states as evidence of the impossibility of obtaining union demands for the old political parties;

Whereas, every sign of the times indicates that the capitalist class of this country through its right hand, the republican party, and through its left hand, the democratic party, is seeking to destroy the labor organizations by means of injunctions and by legislation, limiting the rights of organized labor;

Resolved, That this vicious work can be prevented only by united practical action of labor on the lines of the class struggle; and

Resolved, That we call upon the wage-workers to join the Socialist party with a view to putting an end to the political conditions that make it possible for the capitalist class to use the political machinery of the country as a weapon against the working class.

SIGNED BY THE COMMITTEE.

DEL. HAYES: Mr. Chairman, in view of the fact that the time is growing short and there probably are more questions to come before the house, and in view of the further fact that these supplementary resolutions are in the nature of a working platform, I make a motion on behalf of the committee that this be submitted to the National Committee and be adopted and submitted to a referendum vote along with the other portions of the working program adopted here this afternoon.

The motion was seconded.
DEL. WALSH (Mont.): Do I understand that this report on this trade union question made by the committee is a substitute for the other that we have adopted.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, it is not a substitute. It is an additional report.

DEL. WALSH: I move to lay it on the table at this time. Seconded.
The motion to lay on the table was lost by a rising vote of 35 to 50.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): I move the previous question on referring the committee's report.
The motion was seconded and carried.

The Trades Union Committee having no further report to make, was discharged. The Committee on Constitution being called on, reported through Delegate Hillquit.

DEL. HILLQUIT: As a member of the Committee on Constitution I desire to call attention to the fact that the Constitution has never been adopted as a whole. I now move that it be adopted as a whole.

The motion was seconded.

Final Action on Constitution.

THE CHAIRMAN: It has been moved and seconded that the Constitution Committee's report be adopted as a whole.

DEL. BERGER (Wis.). I handed in an amendment—

THE CHAIRMAN: At the time the report of the Committee on Constitution was adopted most of the members of the Committee on Platform were not in the convention, and, furthermore, a great number of them were out who were on the program, and if I recollect, Delegate Berger was not here at the time.

DEL. BERGER: I was not here at the time that the constitution was adopted. I have something which would involve state autonomy. I have an amendment to make, and that amendment is in the hands of the Committee on Constitution. Comrade Richardson has got it and will read it to you.

Delegate Richardson read the amendment, as follows:

"On the complaint of any National Committee, or of three locals in any state, of any acts on the part of such state organization or of any local subject to its jurisdiction, in violation of the platform or constitution of this organization, an investigation shall be undertaken, acting under rules of the National Committee, to the end that such organization may be brought into conformity."

DEL. RICHARDSON: I move. First, that the word "any" in the first line be stricken out and the word "the" substituted therefor. Again, strike out the word "three" and insert after the word "locals" the words "representing in the aggregate one hundred members." And then I want this added: "But no such state shall be denied representation in the National Organization as the result of any such investigations unless a national referendum to the party membership shall first be ordered, and such referendum must include the vote of the state in question." I move those amendments.

The amendments were seconded.

DEL. BERGER: Mr. Chairman, I believe the best thing would be to cut out the entire section. We do not want to meddle with the internal troubles of every state. No good can come from it. I, as National committeeman, do not want to meddle with the troubles of other states.

THE CHAIRMAN: Not even Chicago?

DEL. BERGER: No, not even Chicago. Let Illinois take care of its own affairs. Let Wisconsin take care of its own affairs. Therefore, I move you that we strike out the entire section; I mean to table the whole section.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): It strikes me that when this convention in regular session adopts a constitution, that that cannot be ruthlessly taken from the previous day's proceedings and tabled.

THE CHAIRMAN: One second; the point of order is not well taken, for this reason—

DEL. SIEVERMAN: I beg your pardon, I am not raising a point of order, I am talking to the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: Pardon me.

DEL. SIEVERMAN: I submit that if we want this thing altered let us first so decide. Let us vote against this if we do not want it, and if we want it leave it there.

DEL. MILLS (Kan): We have a clause in our National Constitution providing that no state shall adopt a constitution or a platform in violation of the provisions of the National Con-

stitution. This clause does not create additional powers, as the comrade from Wisconsin seems to fear. The power is already in the constitution. The National Committee has adopted, and is now acting under rules providing for a method of procedure in case a complaint is made against any state for non-conformity with the National Constitution and with the national platform. This clause provides no other ground. No local quarrel can be investigated; no local action of any sort can be interfered with. The national constitution provides that the states must conform to the national constitution in their platforms. This clause does not create additional power. This clause does not provide authority for invading any state. This clause is put into the constitution not to create state autonomy, but for the purpose of prohibiting the National Committee from violating state autonomy. It is an effort to protect the citizens; it is an effort to protect the rights of a state. The National Committee is to enforce this national constitution. Suppose a state does not adopt a constitution in violation of the national constitution; suppose a state does adopt a platform in violation of the national platform; has this party no authority to see to it that the party that calls itself the Socialist party for any state shall be able to enforce the provisions of our constitution; that the constitution of the state and the platform of the state shall conform with the corresponding national documents? (Applause.) This provision does not create that authority; it only declares that if any state has to complain against another it must do so through its National Committeeman.

For instance, if Missouri is to complain against Kansas it must speak through its National Committeeman, not by an unseemly passage of resolutions, not by making complaints by unauthorized letters, for no state in America can be found whose committeeman will file a complaint against a state for violating the national constitution or platform until it is reasonable to take it for granted that there is ground for complaint. But within the state, suppose our state of Kansas adopts a platform in violation of the national platform; shall we depend upon this outside state alone? It is suggested that it ought to be three lo-

cals with not less than a hundred members. Very well; that no quarrel can be brought from a state to the national organization on any other question than the question of conformity to the national constitution and to the national platform. But no irregular and unseemly method of procedure can bring it even then. But then it is plain that any state in irregular form as to its platform or its constitution, they have got a National Committeeman to represent them under any circumstances or on any question.

DEL. SLOBODIN (N. Y.): I am in favor of Comrade Berger's motion to strike out. The National Committee has already the power to interfere when the state violates the national constitution or platform. What is this provision? To give the minority in a state power to bring up its grievance for so-called violation of the national constitution or platform, and to bring its grievance before the National Committee; in other words, to make a state quarrel a national quarrel, and that is what we have. I therefore am in favor of striking out the resolution.

The hour of adjournment being near, Delegate Sieverman moved that the rules be suspended and that the convention continue in session until all its business is transacted. Motion seconded and adopted.

DEL. HYLAND (Neb.): The present time would seem to be a good one to understand this matter. The comrade who spoke so forcibly against striking out—the chances are that he did not know what was in there when he voted for it. When a member can usurp the state laws and state name, go from one state into another state, and go back to his own state and be protected in his rule, then that state has no means of redress. We have had several cases of that kind in the last year. Nebraska has had several cases where individuals came in from other states and violated its state autonomy. For that reason I am in favor of this proposition. We must have state autonomy. The state of Illinois will not permit me to steal in Iowa and then go to Illinois and be protected from prosecution. The laws of the United States compel the surrender of a criminal to the authorities of the state in which he has committed the crime.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): I have

within the last year known of cases on both sides of the question here. In spite of that, or rather in view of that and as a consequence of that, I am in favor of cutting out any such provision. We have trouble enough without mixing in the smaller quarrels. Let us take care of ourselves, but cooperating in every way possible to further the cause of Socialism.

Delegate Robbins (Ky.) moved the previous question. Seconded and carried.

DEL. CLARK (Neb.): I am opposed to striking this out. This clause was dictated by Comrade Mills, and I wrote according to his dictation. I consider it unfair for the man who dictated this clause to try to have it stricken out now, after a number of delegates have left the convention.

At this point there was much confusion on the floor of the convention. Delegate Mailly made an explanation in regard to Delegate Mills' attitude, and the speaker resumed.

DEL. CLARK: In the presence of the delegates I want to beg Comrade Mills' pardon. I did not understand that he wanted it to stay there. (Applause.) When he was speaking I was outside getting a cheese sandwich and when I came in I misunderstood the purport of Comrade Mills' remarks. Now, this constitution will go to the members of the party. I am going to vote in favor of it being voted upon seriatim, clause by clause. It was adopted by the delegates in this convention several days ago. Let us refer it to the membership, and if the members of the party want it then we want it.

DEL. HILLQUIT: In the first place, as chairman of the Committee on Constitution, I desire to decline any responsibility for this clause. It was adopted by several members, though I did not know the way in which it had been adopted. Comrade Clark has explained how it was written. It has never met with my approval and never will meet it. I believe for one that a general statement to the effect that the platform of the party is the supreme expression of the party, and all state platforms and constitutions are to conform thereto, would have said about all that we are called upon to say. I do not believe in the adoption of a code of

criminal procedure as part of our constitution. I do not believe in making rules which will facilitate and invite interstate quarrels. I believe, if we strike this out, leaving here the other clause which prohibits one member or state from interfering with the affairs of another state without the consent of that state, we have done about all that we are called upon to do to guard the party and the members and the autonomy of the movement in each state, and no more than that should be demanded.

The question was then called for and put on a rising vote, the result being 39 in favor of striking out, and 31 against; so the section was declared stricken out.

Eligibility of Candidates.

DEL. SPEARS (Ill.): I have an amendment under the head of "State Organizations." It is that "No person shall be eligible or recognized as a candidate of the Socialist party for any political office unless he or she has been continuously a member in good standing in the party for one year or more. Seconded.

DEL. HAZLETT (Colo.): I rise to a point of information. How does that apply to members that belong to new organizations that have been in existence only a short time?

DEL. SPEARS: I don't want it to apply to new organizations.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have his answer.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): It does seem to me that the amendment would tend to cripple the work where there was not a large club or local. It is all right in Cook County, where every other member of the club may be a candidate, but it is not a good thing in isolated districts of the state. I submit that a campaign for a Socialist ticket is one of the best possible means of educating the people on Socialism that we could possibly find. There are a good many places where many a county ticket, for instance, could not be made up of the best Socialist material, and you may call me a heretic for saying this, but where branches are satisfied that they could get suitable candidates who are class-conscious Socialists outside of the branch, they ought to have the privilege of electing them up, because there are more like that who for some reason are not members of the

club. I know the position seems to be inconsistent, and I may be criticised for taking this position, but I believe this resolution would cripple the Socialist movement in a great many counties in the United States, and I hope therefore that this matter of nominations will be left to the judgment of the party in the respective localities.

DEL. HOLLENBERGER (Ind.): If that section is adopted won't it interfere with state autonomy? I raise the point of order that it would.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a point of order raised, and the Chair is in doubt, but I will rule that the point is good. The point is made that it would be improper and violate the other provisions of the constitution, as it would be in conflict with state autonomy.

A DELEGATE: How about unorganized states?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is not involved in the question, because it does not involve unorganized states. I shall rule the point of order well taken.

Delegate Spears appealed from the decision of the Chair.

DEL. SPEARS: I maintain that this convention, constituted of the representatives of the members of the Socialist party, has a right to say who shall be their candidates, and that the Socialist party shall not be used, as it has been used in some sections, to assist the other parties. I want to stop that, and I submit we have that authority.

The Vice Chairman put the question on the appeal from the Chairman's decision, and the Chair was sustained.

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Ore.): Here is a question that we have met continually, and we don't know how to decide it. Does that mean that it is left for each state to decide?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, they will have to decide for themselves. The states will have to decide, the party fixing the test of membership.

DEL. SLOBODIN: Will this require an additional referendum of the county or state?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is left to the states. That clause is lost.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): It seems to me some provision should be made in the constitution against the election

of any person to the National Committee of the Socialist party who has not been a member of the party for a certain specified time. It might also be provided in some way to cover our national ticket. At any rate, I propose as an amendment that no person shall be elected to the National Committee of the Socialist Party or nominated for any position on the national ticket unless he or she shall have been a member in good standing for a continuous period of one year or over.

The motion was seconded.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I want to suggest a point about this. Suppose you have a new organization, that you are organized only a month—

DEL WALSH: I raise a point of order. Aren't the committeemen elected by the states?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL WALSH: Then this is out of order, the same as the one as to a man holding a political office.

THE CHAIRMAN: If you raise the point of order, I shall rule that it is out of order.

DEL HANFORD (N. Y.): I now move that we adopt the constitution as a whole.

The motion was seconded.

DEL HAYES (Ohio): For information, I want to know if it would be too late, after this vote is taken, to move that the constitution be submitted to a referendum by sections.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, you can adopt it and then refer it if you wish.

DEL DILNO (Mo.): I believe there was an amendment handed in a few minutes ago by Delegate Saunders of Illinois, which the secretary has not read.

DEL McHUGH (Mont.): I wish to move that the last part of Comrade Spargo's motion be adopted; that is, that nominees on the national ticket shall have been members of the party one year.

Motion not seconded.

Delegate Spargo moved the previous question, and the motion was seconded and carried.

The motion to adopt the constitution was then put and declared carried.

Delegate Titus raised a point of order that debate should have been permitted

before putting the question on the previous question.

DEL HANFORD: A point of order. I made a motion that we adopt the constitution as a whole. That motion was duly seconded. There were other comrades on the floor for various purposes. I then rose, was recognized by the Chair, and moved the previous question. That question was put to the members and a vote taken. We were then in a position where, if any one had at that time received recognition from the Chair, he would have been given three minutes' time.

THE CHAIRMAN: May I ask a question?

DEL HANFORD: One moment; I am stating my point of order. No such speaker did rise and no such speaker was so recognized. The giving of the floor to two, one on each side, is a privilege; it is not a compulsory matter. Not having arisen, we proceeded to vote, the vote was taken in due form, and we cannot go back of it without a motion to reconsider. The result was announced before the point was made. We don't compel people to talk three minutes on any question.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will rule the point of order of Comrade Hanford well taken.

DEL TITUS: I appeal.

DEL MAILLY (in the chair): Shall the Chair be sustained? All in favor will say aye—

DEL TITUS: I have a right to speak to the appeal.

THE VICE CHAIRMAN: Yes.

DEL TITUS: Comrade Hanford is correct in all except one particular. It is not necessary and has not been the practice on this floor for a speaker who wishes to speak to address the Chair before the previous question is stated, but afterwards. Now, I have taken the usual course, and I demand the right to speak on this question. The question before us has not been put.

DEL SIEVERMAN: Oh, yes, it is carried.

DEL TITUS: But it was carried after I addressed the Chair and was ready to speak, and he recognized me. I have appealed, and am stating the reasons for my appeal.

Upon vote the Chair was not sus-

tained. Delegate Stedman resumed the Chair.

A division was called for, but not insisted upon.

DEL TITUS: I am opposed to adopting this constitution as a whole without an opportunity to submit another amendment. This is my amendment that I desire to submit when the opportunity is given. I do it because a speaker on this floor has proposed that there should be candidates endorsed by the Socialist party in sections where there is no organization of the Socialist party. I am wholly opposed to it, and my proposition is to prevent it, and provide that no candidates shall be endorsed by the Socialist party who are not members of the Socialist Party. (Applause.)

DEL WALSH (Mont.): A point of order. I cannot see that that resolution doesn't cover substantially the same ground as the comrade's over here.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken.

DEL TITUS: I appeal from that decision.

DEL MAILLY (in the chair): State your appeal.

DEL TITUS: My reason for the appeal is that in the constitution that we have adopted heretofore we have provided over and over again that state organizations shall do, and the Chair has no right to rule as he has done that I have no right to put in another provision of the same sort. We provide that all state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate. If the Chair's ruling is correct, we have no business to put that in; it is a violation of state autonomy. I protest against this railroading process. Let us go calmly.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: Comrade Titus, I think, will remember that I stated to the convention that I was in doubt upon the proposition. And then I simply made a statement of the result of such a provision; an appeal was taken, and the convention decided it. I did it for this reason: That they had practically decided the question, and why should they adopt another such amendment? They had one amendment fixing the period of membership, and adopted it, and I stated to the conven-

tion at the time that I was in doubt, and the convention decided the parliamentary question. Now, then, your amendment comes as an amendment upon the question of the adoption of the report as a whole, after the previous question is called for. When the previous question is called for on the adoption of the report as a whole, the only thing you can do is either to adopt it or refuse to adopt it as a whole.

DEL TITUS: I want to refuse, so as to get it in shape.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: All right, then vote no.

Upon vote the Chair was not sustained.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN (resuming the chair): I am in doubt as to how to rule again, or what you wish to do.

DEL TITUS: Am I in order in offering this amendment?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, I will rule that an amendment is in order if it is seconded.

DEL CARR (Ill.): I desire to amend the amendment—

DEL TITUS: I am willing to take any suggestions.

THE CHAIRMAN: You have a motion to make?

DEL TITUS: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: Please make it, and the secretary will record it.

DEL TITUS: I am willing to do so, but I want it to express the sense I wish to convey.

DEL CARR: We have had experience in our locality. I suggest two years be put in there, and then none of the politicians will drop into our locals.

DEL TITUS: Let it read that "No candidates shall be put forward by the Socialist party who are not members of the party and who have not been members of the party for a continuous period of one year, except in new locals."

DEL GAYLORD (Wis.): A point of order. Here is an amendment introduced at a time when a member is speaking in favor of a motion, and the previous question is moved, and the ruling must necessarily be on the right to offer the amendment.

THE CHAIRMAN: The convention

has decided that the Chair's ruling was wrong. We are entitled to receive the amendment, and it is before the convention.

DEL. SIEVERMAN (N. Y.): The Chair does not state the position correctly. The convention has decided against the Chair on his ruling that the comrade did not have the right to the floor to speak. We have not had this point before us that Comrade Gaylord now raises, and it is separate and distinct from the one that was raised by Comrade Titus. Comrade Titus raised the point that he was entitled to speak under the rule, but he did not raise the point that he had the right to submit an amendment to the motion upon which the previous question had been ordered, and I back up the second appeal. The point of order made by Comrade Gaylord was that it is too late to introduce any amendment. The previous question has been ordered, and there is nothing in order but two speakers, one for and one against, and then a vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: I think the point of order is well taken. But while I think the point of order is well taken, under the rule I do not think that when the previous question has been called for to adopt a report as a whole we can do anything except either accept or reject the report. I hold that amendment is out of order. If you wish you may appeal again.

DEL. SPARGO: A point of information. The information I desire, is this: As I now understand the position, if we desire to let Delegate Titus move his amendment it will be necessary to vote down the question upon this vote.

THE CHAIRMAN: That is right.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): I want to talk against adopting this motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: You cannot do so. If you have a point of information or of order I will listen to it.

DEL. PARKS: We have a right to talk on the two sides of the question.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, we have done so already. All in favor of adopting the constitution as a whole will signify it by saying *aye*, contrary, *no*.

A division was called for.

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of adopting the constitution as a whole will

rise. All against adopting it as a whole will rise.

DEL. WEAVER (Cal.): This is a vote against, is it not?

THE CHAIRMAN: Yes, it is. The motion to adopt as a whole is lost.

DEL. TITUS: I move this amendment to our constitution: "No candidate shall be nominated by any subdivision of the party unless he is a member of the party, and has been such for at least one year; but this provision shall not apply to organizations which have been in existence for less than one year."

Amendment seconded.

Delegate Simons (Ill.) moved the previous question. Seconded.

DEL. SPEARS: I move: as an amendment to the amendment—

THE CHAIRMAN: All in favor of the previous question will signify it by saying *aye*. All opposed to the previous question will signify it by saying *no*. Carried.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I want to speak against that, for three minutes.

DEL. SIMONS (Ill.): I desire to speak first.

THE CHAIRMAN: The report as a whole is before the convention. Comrade Hayes has the floor.

DEL. SIMONS: I will take the floor first.

DEL. HAYES: I am against adoption—

THE CHAIRMAN: This is on the amendment.

DEL. SPARGO: A question of privilege. I desire to ask the mover of that motion if, in order to cover the point that was evidently in mind, he will not include the words "or endorse," so that it shall read "nominate or endorse?"

DEL. TITUS: Yes.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I raise the point of order that a Socialist organization has no right to endorse anybody.

DEL. HAYES: I am opposed to the adoption of the amendment because I believe that is a matter that ought to be left to the states and locals themselves. In the state of Ohio, by reason of the fact that municipal elections have been abolished in most of the cities, we would have probably forty

or fifty officials to be elected, which means that many of the locals will be unable to fill their tickets with candidates to be placed in the field at the coming election. We do not want to go into the field with a rag-tag and bob-tail ticket. We want to go into the field with a complete ticket from beginning to end, and if you leave this matter to the state organizations we can at least run affairs in a satisfactory manner without the meddling of the national organization. In the cities where we have put forth a great amount of energy and spent a great amount of time and money we have good locals. In the small towns they do not have sufficient membership—that is, have not had sufficient members within the last year—to place tickets in the field. Now, then, when they come in, say after six months, although they may have voted the ticket much longer, under this amendment we cannot place them on the ticket, although we know that they are class-conscious Socialists and all-wood, yard-wide Socialists, and understand Marx in the original. I do not know why a man who has been in the Socialist movement twenty years understands much more about it than some man who has been in it only one year. For that reason I am opposed to the measure.

DEL. COLLINS (Ill.): I take the opposite side from Comrade Hayes, from personal experience, both in this state and in the state of Pennsylvania. I know it from experience in Pennsylvania especially. During the time of the strike in the anthracite fields we organized locals by the hundreds, and they put up tickets, and they put men on the tickets who did not know Socialism any more than a cow. That is why I object to any man or any woman going on the Socialist party ticket unless they have been in the party one year at least. It has been the ruin of the movement in Pennsylvania, putting people on the ticket who knew nothing about Socialism. We all know from experience that when men come into the Socialist movement they do not know much about the party tactics (applause), and we know that there are men that are always looking for political jobs, and those people who have friends in the little towns both in this state and in other states. If we go out and tell them that "You cannot

get into political office until you are twelve months in our party," there will not be so many political ringsters working to get into our party. (Applause.) For that reason I hope that the amendment of Comrade Titus will pass here without a dissenting vote.

The question was called for. The motion being put on the amendment, it was declared carried. A division was called for, but on those in the affirmative rising, the division was waived.

A motion was then made to adopt the report as amended.

The question being put on the adoption of the constitution as amended, it was adopted.

The Referendum and the Constitution.

DEL. CARR: Did you not rule a while ago that it would not be too late after an adoption of the constitution to refer it to a referendum?

THE CHAIRMAN: I so ruled.

DEL. CARR: I so move that the constitution be referred to the party to be voted upon, section by section. Seconded.

DEL. HANFORD (N. Y.): We have sat here for a long time this week. We have considered this matter section by section when members tried their best to send it to people who knew something about these matters. Now it is adopted, and there is no way for the members at large to do but vote for the constitution. Now, the point is that if you do send it to a referendum to be voted upon by sections, you will find one section stricken out and another section will be carried, and they will be in conflict with each other. These comrades in voting at that time will have no opportunity for amendment, and after the constitution has been adopted questions will come up within the party because of the fact that something is in the constitution and something else is stricken out, and with the exception of mistakes and with the exception of new errors it will be a reiteration of this constitution as it stands.

DEL. RICHARDSON (Cal.): I move as an amendment to the last motion that the constitution shall be submitted to a referendum vote to be voted on as a whole.

THE CHAIRMAN: That has been carried, if I mistake not.

DEL. HILLQUIST: Yes.

THE CHAIRMAN: A motion was made at the previous session that the constitution should be referred to the members as a whole. This motion that is pending now is to refer it so that it can be taken up *seriatim*.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to say that the reason for making the recommendation at that time, and it was fully discussed at the time the report was originally made, was this: that if the constitution as a whole was voted down we have another instrument to fall back upon, and this constitution is voted upon by sections and part of it is thrown out and part of it is left, we remain without a working constitution. If the present constitution which is under consideration is not an improvement upon the old constitution from the standpoint of the members, we are at liberty to vote it down, and we have the old constitution; if on the other hand it is an improvement and if there should be some little flaw in it, we have provided for the amendment of any section at any time and its submission to a vote of the party.

DEL. BOSKY (Minn.): I do not think there is any danger whatever of this constitution being rejected on the referendum vote. There can be no danger whatever, because we do not make any additions to the constitution, we make them to our platform. The constitution is entirely sufficient. Leave it to a referendum vote and it will be safe. That is all I have to say.

DEL. PARKS (Kan.): We want a constitution to go into this campaign with, and we need this constitution to go into effect at once in order that the direction of our party may be under the right constitution.

DEL. RICHARDSON: A point of order. A motion was formally made and entertained and adopted to refer this constitution to be voted on as a whole. No motion is in order except a motion to reconsider the vote.

The Chairman decided the point of order not well taken.

DEL. PARKS: Our constitution provides that a convention can amend the constitution, and I think that is a wise thing, because our constituencies have sent us here and entrusted us with the work of framing and adopting a constitution and platform for carrying

on the party business. It will take a long time, forty-five days anyhow, to get a referendum and get this constitution adopted. We need the constitution, and we need it right now.

The previous question was moved and seconded. The Chairman put the question, but before announcing the result he called on the Secretary to read the motion.

DEL. TITUS: I wish to speak on this.

THE SECRETARY: The original motion is that the constitution be submitted to a referendum by sections.

THE CHAIRMAN: The original motion was to submit as a whole, and this motion is to submit *seriatim*.

DEL. TITUS: I am going to talk in favor of this motion to submit *seriatim*. The objection raised by Comrade Hillquit is based entirely upon the assumption that the membership of the party is stupid.

DEL. HILLQUIT: No.

DEL. TITUS: Yes. If we cannot trust the membership of the party to vote on this intelligently section by section, then our party is stupid. If you suppose they are going to strike out an important section which will qualify some other section? They are not that stupid. There is no danger whatever when you give the party an opportunity to vote section by section, but there is danger in making it impossible for them to advance. If you are going back to the old constitution, it is a farce and you need not send it out at all. Suppose they want to vote against any single provision like the \$1,500 salary, you give them a chance. Anyway, let the membership be trusted; you know you can trust the membership of this party. We have done it heretofore. They are jealous of their rights, and we have no business to take away their right to decide what constitution we shall work under.

DEL. STRICKLAND: Comrade Chairman, I think we are losing sight of the fact that the National Secretary in his report to us asked above everything else that we give to the National Committee a working constitution, and we cannot do that by carrying this motion to submit it *seriatim*.

DEL. TITUS: You can't do it any other way.

DEL. STRICKLAND: The only way that we can provide our National Committee with a working constitution soon is to submit this constitution as a whole or not submit it at all. You understand, comrades—

DEL. TITUS: May I ask a question?

DEL. STRICKLAND: Yes.

DEL. TITUS: Will it take any longer to submit it *seriatim* than the other way?

DEL. STRICKLAND: The result will be longer. The only way that we can be certain that we have a working constitution, and have it soon, is to submit it as we have already decided to submit it, as a whole.

DEL. PARKS: Don't submit it at all.

DEL. STRICKLAND: Well, don't submit it at all. In other words, the only way that we can provide our national organization with a working constitution is to vote down this motion and leave the matter where it is.

Several delegates called for a vote.

The motion to refer *seriatim* was put and lost. The motion to refer as a whole was then carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no further report from that committee the committee will be discharged.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I move to reconsider the vote by which it was moved to refer as a whole, in order to move that it be not referred at all, if necessary. The motion to refer as a whole is an absolute farce.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: How did you vote on the motion to refer as a whole?

DEL. CARR: I don't believe I was present.

The motion was declared out of order.

DEL. HAZLETT (Col.): In view of the fact that the delegates to this convention have refrained from smoking during the sessions of the convention, with much discussion of mind to themselves, out of consideration for the lady delegates present on the floor, I wish to move that a vote of thanks be tendered to the delegates for such consideration.

The motion was seconded amid applause.

DEL. SPARGO (N. Y.): I desire on behalf of my friends, to say that we do not care for a vote of thanks; but I would like to move a counter-motion, that in view of the fact that we have refrained for six days or thereabouts from smoking, because they were opposed to smoking, that they now oblige us by smoking each their first cigar.

The Platform and the Referendum.

THE CHAIRMAN: If there is no objection I will put both motions. All in favor of both motions will signify it by saying *aye*. Contrary, *no*. They are carried.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): A point of information. I want to ask if the platform adopted by this convention is to be sent to a referendum vote of the party?

THE CHAIRMAN: I do not know. I was not the chairman the other day.

DEL. YOUNG (Md.): I move that it be referred to a referendum vote.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: I declare that out of order, on this ground, that the motion should have been made immediately after the adoption of the report.

DEL. DALTON: Is that all the information you can furnish?

THE CHAIRMAN: There was no motion made to refer the platform.

DEL. DALTON: Then I make a motion that the platform of the Socialist party be referred to the membership of the Socialist Party for a vote, and I desire to speak on that.

The motion was seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: I will rule that out of order, because it was not made at the time it was before the convention.

DEL. DALTON: I take an appeal. The ground of the appeal is, that the referendum is a fundamental law of the party, that no chairman and no session of this convention can overthrow and smash that law without going to the rank and file of the party and asking them for their permission.

VICE CHAIRMAN WILKINS: The question before the house is the appeal of Comrade Dalton of Illinois from the ruling of the chair. All who sustain the chair will manifest it by saying *aye*. Contrary, *no*. The chair is in doubt.

A division was called for, and on a rising vote the chair was sustained by a vote of 62 to 37.

A Resolution on Marriage.

DEL. MAILLY: I ask leave to introduce the following resolution at this stage of the proceedings:

"Whereas, Socialists are accused of being opposed to marriage; and

"Whereas, since this convention has been in session two of its members, namely, A. A. Triller and Carrie L. Johnson, of Iowa, have been so inconsiderate of the feelings of the opponents of socialism as to become united in marriage; therefore, be it

"Resolved, that this convention of Socialists presents its congratulations to the comrades named, and wishes them a long and happy life and success in their united work for the cause."

The adoption of the resolution was moved and seconded, and the resolution was adopted with enthusiasm.

DEL. MAILLY: These are the final announcements we expect to make. You all know how our comrade Martin, my assistant in the National office, has attended to the vising and certifying of the railroad certificates of the delegates. I thought it would be a matter of information to the delegates to state to them that the passenger agents who were present on Tuesday for the purpose of vising the certificates for the railroad companies informed me personally that in all their years of experience, at no convention had the railroad certificates been presented to them in the order that Comrade Martin had presented them; and I take pleasure in making that announcement and citing it as a testimonial to the fact that Socialists know how to systematize their work. Second, we have had a stenographic report of this convention taken, and we expect to have the proceedings printed very soon and sold at a nominal cost to the membership, and we wish you to push the sale. We shall get it out as soon as possible.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): Did I correctly understand the chair? Is anyone who voted for the referendum of the constitution as a whole in order in moving a reconsideration of that question?

THE CHAIRMAN: You did.

DEL. MILLS: Is it still in order to do that?

THE CHAIRMAN: I would not entertain the motion from anyone except one who voted in the affirmative.

DEL. MILLS: I voted in the affirmative. Is it still in order for anyone who voted in the affirmative to move to reconsider?

THE CHAIRMAN: I think it is.

DEL. MILLS: I wish to make a statement and a motion to that effect. Have I consent to do so?

Several delegates were heard to give consent.

DEL. MILLS: The statement I wish to make is to this effect: When the constitution is submitted as a whole I think there is no question about its being adopted. I am quite sure the comrades will agree with regard to the fact that if it were submitted so that they could vote on each section by itself, then there would be a point in submitting it to a referendum. But, as it is submitted as a whole, if it is put into immediate operation as a whole, the comrades will have exactly the same remedy in that case that they would in the other. If we have the vote on the referendum as a whole, that is the only way by which we can have the new constitution. If afterwards we find things that we want to amend, we can amend them by referendum. If, on the other hand, we thought that it should take effect immediately on the adjournment of this convention, all of the comrades were then in a position of acting on the constitution, and at a saving of expense. In order to make a motion, then, that the constitution shall go into immediate effect, I move a reconsideration.

The motion was seconded by Delegate Jacobson of Iowa, and was carried.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question now before the house is the question on referring the constitution to the membership as a whole.

DEL. MILLS: I wish to make a motion now that the constitution go into immediate effect.

THE CHAIRMAN: The motion was to refer the constitution to the members as a whole. That was carried. This motion was a motion to re-

consider, which brings up the original motion.

DEL. MILLS: Then I wish to make an amendment by substituting that the constitution go into immediate effect.

The motion was seconded.

Delegate Weaver (Cal.) moved the previous question. Seconded.

DEL. DALTON (Ill.): I am opposed to the constitution going into immediate effect, for this reason: I do not see how those who want the platform referred to the membership are going to have it referred if we adopt this constitution. Acting under the old constitution, there is a provision to that effect. Now, I know that there is considerable opposition to things that we have got in the platform, and there is no use bothering about it, but I want to tell you plainly that you cannot do any good unless you have a united party and a united sentiment back of it. No matter what we say about how wise we are here we are no wiser than we should be in our locals on these matters. If you get a vote of the membership on a referendum, no matter how good a platform you have, there will be some things that they will find fault with. Give them a chance at it. They may be intelligent, or they may be stupid, but we can never get above their intelligence.

DEL. WILKINS: I rise to a point of order. We are not considering any question concerning people's stupidity. THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken. Comrade Dalton will proceed in order. We are not discussing the question of platform, only the reference of the platform.

DEL. DALTON: I am discussing the question of a referendum of the constitution, and I have a right to cite an illustration anything which may be proper. I select the platform for that purpose. Am I in order?

THE CHAIRMAN: Proceed. You have got half a minute.

DEL. DALTON: Well, in that half minute I want to ask you men, will it not be wiser on our part to submit this platform and this constitution to a referendum of the party?

DEL. HILLQUIT: A point of order. The motion now before the house cannot be entertained for the reason that our present constitution provides that the constitution may be amended

by a convention, subject to a referendum, and in view of the fact that we have not amended that clause as provided in the old constitution we have no alternative but to submit the present constitution to a referendum.

THE CHAIRMAN: Was that constitution adopted through a referendum?

DEL. HILLQUIT: Yes, it was adopted by referendum.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is well taken, and the question before the house is on referring the constitution as a whole to a referendum.

DEL. DALTON: A point of information. Will the Chair furnish the information now? Can we refer the platform according to what Comrade Hillquit says and according to your understanding?

THE CHAIRMAN: That is the Chairman's view.

DEL. WOODBEY (Cal.): I understood Comrade Hillquit to say that the convention could not amend the constitution without submission to a referendum. But this is not a question of amendment of the old constitution.

THE CHAIRMAN: Do you raise a point of order?

DEL. WOODBEY: Yes. My point is that according to Comrade Hillquit's statement the convention cannot amend the constitution without submitting it to a referendum. But this is only a question of adopting a new constitution. There is a difference between the two.

THE CHAIRMAN: I hold that your point of order is not well taken.

DEL. WOODBEY: I appeal from the decision of the chair on that point.

DEL. MILLS (Kan.): May I read from the old constitution? Comrade Woodbey, you will write this just a moment. I think we can settle this. Do I have your consent?

DEL. WOODBEY: Yes.

DEL. MILLS: The constitution reads, "this constitution may be amended at any national convention subject to a majority referendum vote of the party, or by referendum without such action of the convention," etc. I think the point of order is well made, and I submit the motion was out of order. Under the rule it must go to a referendum.

DEL. CARR (Ill.): I understand that the motion before the house is on the referendum of the constitution to the party.

THE CHAIRMAN: This question was debated for about two hours the other day.

DEL. CARR: I move now to amend that this referendum be by sections.

The motion was seconded, and the question was called for.

DEL. HANFORD: I rise to a point of order. My point of order is this, that Comrade May's motion by which we come back to the referendum again is out of order. The whole thing is out of order.

THE CHAIRMAN: The chair rules that the question before the house is the motion which was brought into existence by the reconsideration, and that is to refer as a whole, and the comrade's amendment to refer seriatim, which is now before the convention.

DEL. HANFORD: The question to refer as a whole, I claim, is now before the house.

THE CHAIRMAN: No, the amendment is before the house.

DEL. HANFORD: What is the amendment?

THE CHAIRMAN: The amendment is the amendment of Comrade Carr to refer seriatim.

DEL. HANFORD: Yes. Now, what I want to get at is this: that the motion to refer as a whole is in order for the simple reason that the reference is provided for in the old constitution, and you have got to refer. How often shall we take this thing up, and how often shall we reconsider our action? Now, if we keep this up I am going to stay here, if I am the last man, and then I will elect myself Chairman and Secretary of this convention, and I will reconsider every act that has happened here when there were two-hundred delegates and I will be the party, for I can last as long as anybody.

At this point there was much confusion in the hall and the chairman rapped for order.

DEL. PHELAN (Ill.): I would like to speak on the amendment.

DEL. MILLS: I rise to a point of order. The motion to submit seriatim has been already voted down, and cannot be discussed now. The only question before the house is the motion to

reconsider, and I move the previous question on that motion.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken.

DEL. PHELAN: I would like to have this constitution sent to a referendum in one form or another, and I am amazed at the delegates here putting so much obstruction in the way of its submission to the party membership, because I have here in my hand the platform that you adopted yesterday, with out debate, in which we say that we believe in popular government and the initiative and referendum. (Applause.) And I submit that if you deny the membership of the Socialist party of the United States the right to vote upon that question you only insinuate that this statement here is a falsehood, with many other statements that I believe are false within this document.

DEL. WOODBEY: I rise to a point of order. It has already been moved to refer, and therefore there is nothing to refer.

DEL. CARR: Whether you do or do not send this to a referendum from this convention, it will be sent in one form or another.

DEL. CLARK (Neb.): I support the amendment of Comrade Carr for this reason: I do not consider the collective intelligence of this convention is greater than the collective intelligence of the entire Socialist Party. I do not consider that we have a right to deny the entire Socialist Party an opportunity to vote upon the entire Socialist constitution, and to vote upon it section by section, or an opportunity to vote for their amendment, or opportunity to argue and discuss the different propositions pro and con between themselves. If we have a section in this constitution that will not get the endorsement of the party, then it ought not to be in the constitution. (Applause.) And, if we are afraid that we have put something in there that they will not endorse, then by all means let us give them an opportunity to vote upon that constitution.

DEL. GAYLORD (Wis.): There has been no motion as yet for the previous question. I have got a story that I believe ought to be told right now, and I am going to tell it. I believe in the referendum. Let me tell you the

story. There was once a printer and he was setting up something from the copy. He called the foreman and said, "Foreman, that thing isn't quite right, is it?" The foreman looked at it and said, "Well, you follow copy." Just then a gust of wind came and took the copy out of the third-story window, and the printer said, "All right, here goes," and he followed the copy. There are men that would like to follow the principle of the referendum in exactly that same fashion. The comrade talks about collective intelligence. Collective intelligence is a good thing when you can discuss it, but the intelligence of a collective body must be focused in order to be effective. It is not a question of how much collective intelligence there is in the Socialist Party compared with the collective intelligence of this body. This body was selected for a certain purpose and it is supposed to carry out that purpose. The provision was not made in the national constitution for referendum seriatim. Understand, that has gone once to a referendum. If they had believed always in the seriatim referendum and the referendum always is absolutely right, they would have provided at that time for a seriatim referendum every time. Why didn't they?

Delegate Strickland moved the previous question. Motion seconded and carried.

DEL. IRENE SMITH (Ore.): I wish to speak on this question just to this effect. We are thinking of sending out this constitution to be voted upon, which I hope will be carried seriatim, by the party, and until that is done it is feared that we shall have no constitution to work by. See here, comrades, we have got the great constitution of the Socialist Party of the world, and don't be afraid; the party won't go to pieces if we don't have a party constitution for a few weeks. I agree with the fine sentiments of the comrades that have spoken here today in support of democracy. I believe our cause is safer in the hands of the party as a whole than it is in the hands of a few excited delegates here this afternoon or in any other, and therefore I do hope, in conclusion, that you will see to it that you do this courtesy to the boys that could not be here and the girls that could not be here, to trust to their judgment and let this constitution go before them to be voted upon seriatim,

and trust in their ability and intelligence to decide what they want in the constitution.

DEL. WOODBEY: It seems to me there don't need to be very much said about this. Remember this, now, that if this constitution goes before the people to be adopted seriatim and a material section of that constitution is knocked out, then we are at the expense of another referendum and without a constitution. Remember, now, because the old constitution will not be in effect.

A DELEGATE: Yes it will.

DEL. WOODBEY: Not at all. If the people who adopted the constitution without having it done seriatim had wanted it done that way they would have fixed it and made it mandatory in the old constitution that all things be submitted seriatim. It does not.

DEL. IRENE SMITH: Yes.

DEL. WOODBEY: The constitution does not provide anything of the kind. The constitution does not provide that we shall submit it seriatim, but it does say that it shall be submitted, mark you, and I think the people elected the delegates to this convention with the idea that the delegates have sense enough to adopt a sufficient constitution. I believe that the people will adopt the constitution as a whole. I believe another thing: That if, after this convention, we find ourselves after sixty days or three months without a constitution, that we might possibly get along. I am in favor of submission as a whole.

The question was then put on the amendment to submit the constitution to a referendum vote seriatim, and the amendment was lost.

THE CHAIRMAN: Under the provisions of the last constitution, endorsed by the members of the party, this constitution will go to them upon a referendum as a whole.

DEL. HILLQUIT: Under the head of new business, I move, in accordance with the resolution, that the national body issue credentials to Comrade Schleutner, of New York, to represent this party at the International Socialist Congress. Comrade Schleutner is the editor-in-chief of the New York "Volks Zeitung," and has been a member of the party for the last quarter of a century. He is well qualified to represent it at the congress, and he intends going.

DEL. HAYES (O.): I would like to include the name of Comrade Morris Hillquit in that motion.

The question was put on the issuance of credentials to Comrade Schleutner, and was carried.

DEL. REILLY (N. J.): I move that credentials be issued to Comrade Charles Kiehn of New Jersey.

DEL. HILLQUIT: He is a member of the party of New Jersey and is going to attend the International Congress. He has obtained credentials from the New Jersey State Convention, but under our rule today they would become nugatory. I know the comrade to be a good member of the party, and I second the nomination.

The question on the issuance of credentials to the New Jersey comrade was put and carried.

DEL. HAYES: I desire to put the name of Morris Hillquit before the convention, and move that credentials be issued to him.

The motion was seconded and carried.

DEL. MAILLY: We have voted credentials to three comrades to act as delegates. Under the action taken there are still seventeen.

DEL. ROSE (Miss.): I have a resolution. It is that as we have referred the state and municipal program to the National Committee, the National Committee shall within ninety days provide a state and municipal program for the instruction of the party membership.

The motion was seconded and carried.

As to a Campaign Committee.

DEL. DALTON: I move that the National Committee, the Executive Committee of the Socialist Party be the Campaign Committee for the year 1904.

THE CHAIRMAN: You don't mean that for one moment.

DEL. DALTON: I said I did.

THE CHAIRMAN: I know you did, but do you mean for them to have the power and run the campaign as a general committee? It seems to me we should have at least one man from each state. Well, you have heard the motion that they constitute the Campaign Committee.

The motion was seconded.

DEL. BERLYN (Ill.): I make the point of order that this motion is out of order, for we have sent a new constitution to a referendum of the party and the Executive Committee does not exist.

THE CHAIRMAN: I hold that the point of order is not well taken.

A DELEGATE: He said the National Committee.

THE CHAIRMAN: You said both National and Executive Committee. Which do you mean? Do you mean the National Executive Committee or the National Committee?

DEL. DALTON: I mean the new Executive Committee.

DEL. GAYLORD: A point of order. We are acting under working rules that we have adopted, which provide that this committee shall be elected. This motion provides that a committee not yet in existence or elected by this convention shall be the Campaign Committee.

DEL. HILLQUIT: I desire to amend the motion of Comrade Dalton, that the affairs of the campaign be left to the National Secretary until such time as an executive committee is duly elected, whereupon the Executive Committee shall perform the functions of Campaign Committee during the campaign.

DEL. DALTON: I accept that amendment.

DEL. GAYLORD: A point of order. That motion is based upon an assumption that the constitution now to be submitted to them will be submitted in that form. If the membership should refuse to endorse the constitution the affairs of the present campaign will be left entirely in the hands of one man.

THE CHAIRMAN: The point of order is not well taken.

DEL. MAILLY: In answer to Comrade Gaylord I will state that until the adoption of this constitution we had a constitution, the form that was in existence till this convention met. Under it our committeemen were selected. Their term has not yet expired, as they were selected by referendum last year, and the National Committee now in existence under the present constitution can direct the National Secretary, so the affairs of the party are still in the hands of one man. He is still under the direction of the present National Committee until this constitution is endorsed by the membership.

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: I want to move as a substitute this: that the National Committee, or Executive Com-

mittee, if they so designate, constitute campaign committee with power to add to its number.

The motion was seconded.

THE VICE-CHAIRMAN: Are you ready for the question?

CHAIRMAN STEDMAN: The reason I do that is this: You may find one man in one location, and you may find five men in another adapted to the work of the national campaign. There must be a committee on press and printing, there must be a committee on literature, there must be some one to work out the routes of different speakers during the campaign, and you will find a hundred different things to think of. You will find one person qualified in one direction, and another person qualified in another direction. You combine the members with the various qualifications into the campaign committee. When the work of the campaign is done the committee makes its report to the National Committee and goes out of existence. I am satisfied that will be the most effective method of conducting your national campaign. I state that from experience, and I have had twelve or fourteen years' experience.

DEL. MAILLY: I am sorry to take issue with the statement that the Executive Committee has power to add to its members. That might be advisable if we did not already have an office force in the national office. There are four persons in the national office. I do not see any necessity for the amendment, or the provision giving power to add. We have four persons in the national office already, and the work is gradually being subdivided, and I think a committee of seven or nine is large enough, so I favor the amendment with that provision excluded. I think Comrade Stedman will find, with the development of the campaign and with the present organized force in the office, that it is unnecessary to give it power to add.

The question on the substitute was then put and the substitute was lost.

The original motion as amended was then carried.

Delegate Waldhorst (Ala.) offered the following resolution, and moved its adoption:

Resolved, That this Convention request all unattached Socialists to file their names and residences with the

respective State or the National Secretary, as the case may be.

That we instruct the National Secretary to have the Platform and such other printed matter in one little pamphlet for the use of the membership as quick as possible.

The motion to adopt the resolution was seconded and carried.

DEL. HAYES (Ohio): I move that this convention extend a vote of thanks to the secretaries and all the chairmen who have served during the sessions of this convention.

DEL. D. M. SMITH (Ill.): I move a vote of thanks to every delegate who has not risen to a point of order.

Motion seconded and carried.

DEL. MAHONEY (Conn.): I hope you will have patience while a delegate from Connecticut speaks. I will not take longer than necessary. It is not the fault of the Connecticut delegation that the Connecticut delegation has sat here in silence throughout this whole session. Let me tell you, comrades, it is not because we are not in the movement. We have been in the Socialist movement for seven or eight years, and we have been fighting the battle of the down-trodden class, the battle of the union movement for the last fifteen or sixteen years, and I assure you that the Connecticut delegation has not sat here in silence for nothing. While they have sat in silence they have thought, and when they go back to their constituents in Connecticut they will be better able and better prepared to go before the public and fight for the emancipation of the dispossessed proletariat of Connecticut. Another thing I wish to say is this: As I have said, we sat silent representatives in an organization that stands for the overthrow of the system that is maintained by rent, interest and profit. There has also been an illustrator of the rent, interest and profit system used in this convention, and that illustrator has become, in my estimation, historical. That silent illustrator of the capitalist system represented by rent, interest and profit, Comrade Parks, stick Comrade Parks' stick I wish to carry back to the Connecticut proletarians as a representative token of the silence of their delegates while in this convention. I therefore request that the convention request Comrade Parks to

present to the Connecticut delegation the historical stick.

Delegate Berlyn moved that the convention adjourn. Seconded.

THE CHAIRMAN: Comrade Strickland will close the meeting by leading

us with the "Marseillaise."

There being no further business to transact, Delegate Strickland led in the singing of the "Marseillaise," and at 7:20 P. M. the convention adjourned sine die, with three cheers for Socialism.

APPENDIX

No. 1.

List of Delegates

Name.	Address.
ALABAMA.	
Waldhorst, F. X.	1016 S. 23d St., Birmingham.
ARKANSAS.	
Le Fevre, Dr. Wells.	1409 W. Barraque St., Pine Bluff.
Penrose, Wm.	Medith.
CALIFORNIA.	
Cobb, John Lyman.	Dos Palos.
Deutzman, Chas. P.	121 Eddy, U. S. Hotel, San Francisco.
Keller, Paul.	Box 5, Santa Clara.
McKee, Harry M.	130 National Ave., San Diego.
Patton, John J.	400 N. Raymond Ave., Los Angeles.
Richardson, Noble A.	780 Fifth St., San Bernardino.
Weaver, Herman B.	535 Third St., Chico.
Wilkins, Bertha S.	725 S. Olive St., Los Angeles.
Wilkins, M. W.	Dimond.
Wilson, Jackson Stitt.	Highland and Ridge Sts., Berkeley.
Woodbey, George W.	703 12th St., San Diego.
COLORADO.	
Ash, Wm. M.	Delta.
Floaten, A. H.	Telluride.
Hazlett, Ida Crouch.	2137 Stout St., Denver.
Miller, Guy E.	
Southworth, Royal A.	420 Charles Bldg., Denver.
CONNECTICUT.	
Mahoney, Cornelius	173 Frank St., New Haven.
Toomey, Eugene	86 Cedar St., New Haven.
IDAHO.	
Ault, Erwin B.	526 Main St., Lewiston.
ILLINOIS.	
Berlyn, Bernard	662 E. 63d St., Chicago.
Block, Samuel	1010 Jefferson Ave., Peoria.
Breckon, Chas. L.	673 Burling St., Chicago.
Brower, James H.	380 North St., Elgin.
Carr, Edward E.	134 Vermilion St., Danville.
Collins, John	579 W. Huron St., Chicago.
Dalton, Wm. S.	30th St. and Langley Ave., Chicago.
McEachern, Duncan B.	1839 92d Place, Chicago.
Mance, A. W.	283 Wells St., Chicago.

ILLINOIS—Continued.

Meyer, Theodore	226 Ontario St., Chicago.
Morgan, Thomas J.	79 Dearborn St., Chicago.
Phelan, J. E.	
Smith, D. M.	6410 Jackson Ave., Chicago.
Smith, Jas. S.	318 W. Madison St., Chicago.
Simons, Alzie M.	227 16th Ave., Melrose Park.
Stedman, Seymour	519 E. 66th St., Chicago.
Taft, Marcus H.	99 Randolph St., Chicago.
Untermann, Ernest	Lombard.

INDIANA.

Barrett, Wm.	524 E. Washington St., Indianapolis.
Debs, Eugene V.	451 N. 8th St., Terre Haute.
Gridley, Albert T.	60 Harrison St., Aurora.
Hollenberger, Matt.	1531 Law Ave., Evansville.
Oneal, James	269 Boylston Bldg., Chicago.
Reynolds, Stephen M.	1115 S. 6th St., Terre Haute.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

Whitelatch, Wm. T.	Durant.
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IOWA.

Bennett, John W.	107 Market St., Sioux City.
Jacobsen, Jno. J.	1129 12th St., Des Moines.
Johnson, Carrie L.	295 6th St., Dubuque.
Work, John M.	1313 Harrison Ave., Des Moines.

KANSAS.

Cogswell, Eleanore G.	708 Bluff St., Rosedale.
Kraybill, Luella R.	105 E. New St., Coffeyville.
Mills, Walter Thomas	Box 405, Kansas City, Mo.
Neal, Wm. S.	Udall.
Parks, Wade R.	Bonita.
Will, Thomas Elmer	207-9 Sedgwick Block, Wichita.

KENTUCKY.

McGrady, Thomas	319 Poplar St., Bellevue.
Markert, F. R.	2826 Dineau St.
Nagel, Adam L.	506 E. 3d St., Newport.
Robinson, Frank L.	709 First St., Louisville.

LOUISIANA.

Putnam, Wilbur	Evangeline.
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MARYLAND AND DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA.

Toole, Wm. A.	136 Gitting St., Baltimore, Md.
Young, Sylvester, L. V.	334 S. Locust St., Hagerstown, Md.

MASSACHUSETTS.

Carey, James F.	Haverhill.
Brandt, Herman	73 Avon St., Malden.
Gibbs, Howard A.	46 Abbott St., Worcester.
Hayman, Alexander	2 Proctor St., Haverhill.
Kelly, John J.	62 Grattan St., Chicopee Falls.
Keown, James A.	23 Ireson St., Lynn.
Littlefield, Geo. E.	Westwood.
Putnam, Alfred B.	159 Poplar St., Chelsea.
White, Dan A.	13 Crowell St., Brocton.

MICHIGAN.

Benessi, Wm. L.	746 Portage St., Kalamazoo.
Lamb, Clayton J.	Dryden.
McFarlan, Jas. H.	726 Church St., Flint.
Menton, John A. C.	1323 S. Saginaw St., Flint.
Walter, Wm. E.	

MINNESOTA.

Brantland, M. A.	Ada.
Besky, Edward	512 S. Minnesota, New Ulm.
Ford, Edwin E.	314 Central Ave., Fairbault.
Gilbertson, A. N.	Willmar.
Holman, S. M.	11 Oak St., S. E., Minneapolis.
Klein, Nicholas	Wrenshall.
Leonard, Geo. B.	535 Andrews Bldg., Minneapolis.
Lucas, Thos. H.	348 Kent St., St. Paul.

MISSOURI.

Behrens, E. T.	1200 E. 3d St., Sedalia.
Brandt, W. M.	219 Walnut St., St. Louis.
Dilno, Fred H.	206 N. 13th St., St. Louis.
Garver, Wm. L.	Chillicothe.
Goehn, G. A.	324 Chestnut St., St. Louis.
Knecht, Carl	230 S. Main, Poplar Bluff.
Lipscomb, Caleb	Liberal.
Palmer, T. E.	1220 Holmes St., Kansas City.
Turner, Geo. H.	14 Rookery Bldg., Kansas City.
Raible, Hugh J.	634 Main St., Jasper.
Rathbun, John H.	910 S. Missouri Ave., Sedalia.

MISSISSIPPI.

Rose, Sumner W.	Biloxi.
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MONTANA.

Hirt, John	1025 5th Ave., S., Great Falls.
McHugh, C. C.	City Hall, Anaconda.
O'Malley, Malcolm G.	746 Maryland Ave., Butte.
Walsh, John H.	Lewistown.

NEBRASKA.

Clark, Wm. E.	269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.
Hawkins, J. W.	519 N. 16th, Omaha.
Hyland, Patrick J.	4014 Decatur St., Omaha.
Maily, Wm.	269 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

Murray, James S.	Concord.
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NEW JERSEY.

Burrowes, Peter E.	622 Chestnut St., Arlington.
Glanz, Wm.	68 Lyon St., Patterson.
Kronenberg, Carl	128 Congress St., Jersey City.
Oswald, Walter L.	37 Locust Ave., Arlington.
Ufert, Chas.	590 Clinton Ave., West Hoboken.
Reilly, James M.	285 Barrow St., Jersey City.
Rubinow, David	67 Congress St., Newark.
Strohbel, G. H.	44 Hill St., Newark.

NEW YORK.

Atkinson, Warren	122 Ft. Green Place, Brooklyn.
Bush, C. P.	Falconer.
Butcher, Wm.	279 Hooper St., Brooklyn.
Curtis, A. L. Byron	4 St. Joseph's Place, Rome.
Dobbs, Charles	36 E. 23d St., New York.
Ehret, Wm.	1580 First Ave., New York.
Finanigan, Peter J.	36 Somers St., Brooklyn.
Gerber, Julius	461 Bushwick Ave., Brooklyn.
Hanford, Ben.	781 Marcy Ave., Brooklyn.
Herron, Geo. D.	59 W. 45th St., New York.
Hillquitt, Morris	67 W. 131st St., New York.

NEW YORK—Continued.

Jonas, Alexander	223 E. 18th St., New York.
Lee, Algernon	3 W. 115th St., New York.
Dressler, Gustave	1507 Washington Ave., New York.
Sieverman, Frank A.	184 Wilkin St., Rochester.
Slobodin, Henry L.	60 Second Ave., New York.
Spargo, John	610 E. 84th St., New York.
Wegener, Otto	11 Cooper Square, New York.
Wessling, H. W.	164 Locust Ave., New Rochelle.
Mayell, Alfred A.	220 E. 52d St., New York.
Wilshire, Gaylord	Cor. Bdy. & 77th, Hotel Belleclaire, N.Y.
Hawley, C. P.	

NORTH DAKOTA.

Haight, S. E.	Osnabrock.
Thams, Tonnes	320 8th St., Fargo.

OHIO.

Bandlow, Robert	33 Gladstone St., Cleveland.
Bickett, Charles A.	221 Marquis St., Cincinnati.
Farrell, Daniel P.	568 W. 4th St., Dayton.
Goss, Martin	233 Wilson St., Newark.
Hayes, Max S.	193 Champlain St., Cleveland.
Stanton, W. A.	427 12th St., Toledo.
Webster, Warner L.	32 Woodlawn Ave., Cleveland.
Willey, Charles E.	627 Erie St., Youngstown.
Zorn, Julius	199 Odd Fellows' Temple, Cincinnati.

OKLAHOMA.

Hays, Roy	Goodnight.
Kolachny, Jas. V.	Hennessey.
Loudermilk, A. S.	520 E. Wade St., El Reno.
Renshaw, Achilles W.	Hennessey.
Snyder, J. E.	Skedee.

OREGON.

Smith, Irene M.	1115 N. 5th St., Tacoma, Wash.
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PENNSYLVANIA.

Ayres, Hugh G.	712 Church St., Roversford.
Barnes, J. Mahon	232 N. 9th St., Philadelphia.
Bacon, Geo. W.	13 E. Market St., York.
Forbes, Miss S. Innes	901 Pine St., Philadelphia.
Goazion, Louis	730 Washington Ave., Charleroi.
Heydrick, Charles	631 State St., Erie.
Gagliardi, Frank	Box 101, Belle Vernon.
Maurer, James M.	1516 N. 10th St., Reading.
Moore, Edward	3462 N. Water St., Philadelphia.
Ringler, Robert B.	347 Spence St., Reading.

SOUTH DAKOTA.

Knowles, Freeman	50 Van Buren St., Deadwood.
Potter, O. C.	Sioux Falls.

TENNESSEE.

Stockell, Chas. H.	602½ Church St., Nashville.
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TEXAS.

Kerrigan, John	346 Elm St., Dallas.
Langworthy, R. O.	608 Virginia Ave., San Antonio.
Latham, Ernest B.	719 E. California St., Gainesville.

WASHINGTON.

Lund, O.	Merchants' Hotel, Spokane.
Titus, Hermon F.	2003 2nd Ave., Seattle.

WISCONSIN.

Ammann, Henry J.	Kiel.
Berger, Victor L.	344 6th St., Milwaukee.
Bistorius, H. W.	516 2d Ave., Milwaukee.
Born, Jacob W.	604 State St., Racine.
Cross, Ira B.	511 Francis St., Madison.
Gaylord, Winfield R.	1632 Meinecke Ave., Milwaukee.
Heath, Frederick	344 6th St., Milwaukee.
Hunger, Jacob	602 Chestnut St., Milwaukee.
Seidel, Emil	1154 20th St., Milwaukee.
Spence, J. M. A.	417 S. Adams St., Green Bay.
Thomas, Elizabeth H.	344 Sixth St., Milwaukee.

WYOMING.

Ott, Frederick W.	Laramie.
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No. 2.

The National Platform

AS REPORTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON PLATFORM AND ADOPTED
BY THE CONVENTION.

I.

The Socialist Party, in convention assembled, makes its appeal to the American people as the defender and preserver of the idea of liberty and self-government, in which the nation was born; as the only political movement standing for the program and principles by which the liberty of the individual may become a fact; as the only political organization that is democratic, and that has for its purpose the democratizing of the whole of society.

To this idea of liberty the Republican and Democratic parties are equally false. They alike struggle for power to maintain and profit by an industrial system which can be preserved only by the complete overthrow of such liberties as we already have, and by the still further enslavement and degradation of labor.

Our American institutions came into the world in the name of freedom. They have been seized upon by the capitalist class as the means of rooting out the idea of freedom from among the people. Our state and national legislatures have become the mere agencies of great propertied interests. These interests control the appointments and decisions of the judges of our courts. They have come into what is practically a private ownership of all the functions and forces of government. They are using these to betray and conquer foreign and weaker peoples, in order to establish new markets for the surplus goods which the people make, but are too poor to buy. They are gradually so invading and restricting the right of suffrage as to take away unawares the right of the worker to a vote or voice in public affairs. By enacting new and misinterpreting old laws, they are preparing to attack the liberty of the individual even to speak or think for himself, or for the common good.

By controlling all the sources of social revenue, the possessing class is able to silence what might be the voice of protest against the passing of liberty and the coming of tyranny. It completely controls the university and public school, the pulpit and the press, and the arts and literatures. By making these economically dependent upon itself, it has brought all the forms of public teaching into servile submission to its own interests.

Our political institutions are also being used as the destroyers of that individual property upon which all liberty and opportunity depend. The promise of economic independence to each man was one of the faiths upon which our institutions were founded. But, under the guise of defending private property, capitalism is using our political institutions to make it impossible for the vast majority of human beings ever to become possessors of private property in the means of life.

Capitalism is the enemy and destroyer of essential private property. Its development is through the legalized confiscation of all that the labor of the working class produces, above its subsistence-wage. The private ownership of the means of employment grounds society in an economic slavery which renders intellectual and political tyranny inevitable.

Socialism comes so to organize industry and society that every individual shall be secure in that private property in the means of life upon which his liberty of being, thought and action depends. It comes to rescue the people from the fast increasing and successful assault of capitalism upon the liberty of the individual.

II.

As an American socialist party, we pledge our fidelity to the principles of international socialism, as embodied in the united thought and action of the socialists of all nations. In the industrial development already accomplished, the interests of the world's workers are separated by no national boundaries. The condition of the most exploited and oppressed workers, in the most remote places of the earth, inevitably tends to drag down all the workers of the world to the same level. The tendency of the competitive wage system is to make labor's lowest condition the measure or rule of its universal condition and results. The chief significance of national boundaries, and of the so-called patriotisms which the ruling class of each nation is seeking to revive, is the power which these give to capitalism to keep the workers of the world from uniting, and to throw them against each other in the struggles of contending capitalist interests for the control of the yet unexploited markets of the world, or the remaining sources of profit.

The socialist movement, therefore, is a world-movement. It knows of no conflicts of interests between the workers of one nation and the workers of another. It stands for the freedom of the workers of all nations; and, in so standing, it makes for the full freedom of all humanity.

III.

The socialist movement owes its birth and growth to that economic development or world-process which is rapidly separating a working or producing class from a possessing or capitalist class. The class that produces nothing possesses labor's fruits, and the opportunities and enjoyments these fruits afford, while the class that does the world's real work has increasing economic uncertainty, and physical and intellectual misery, for its portion.

The fact that these two classes have not yet become fully conscious of their distinction from each other, the fact that the lines of division and interest may not yet be clearly drawn, does not change the fact of the class conflict.

This class struggle is due to the private ownership of the means of employment, or the tools of production. Wherever and whenever man owned his own land and tools, and by them produced only the things which he used, economic independence was possible. But production, or the making of goods, has long ceased to be individual. The labor of scores, or even thousands, enters into almost every article produced. Production is now social or collective. Practically everything is made or done by many men—sometimes separated by seas or continents—working together for the same end. But this co-operation in production is not for the direct use of the things made by the workers who make them, but for the profit of the owners of the tools and means of production; and to this is due the present division of society into two classes; and from it have sprung all the miseries, inharmonies and contradictions of our civilization.

Between these two classes there can be no possible compromise or identity of interests, any more than there can be peace in the midst of war, or light in the midst of darkness. A society based upon this class division carries in itself the seeds of its own destruction. Such a society is founded in fundamental injustice. There can be no possible basis for social peace, for individual freedom, for mental and moral harmony, except in the conscious and complete triumph of the working class as the only class that has the right or power to be.

IV.

The socialist program is not a theory imposed upon society for its acceptance or rejection. It is but the interpretation of what is, sooner or later, inevitable. Capitalism is already struggling to its destruction. It is no longer competent to organize or administer the work of the world, or even to preserve itself. The captains of industry are appalled at their own inability to control or direct the rapidly socializing forces of industry. The so-called trust is but a sign and form of the developing socialization of the world's work. The universal increase of the uncertainty of employment, the universal capitalist determination to break down the unity of labor in the trades unions, the widespread apprehensions of impending change, reveal that the institutions of capitalist society are passing under the power of inhering forces that will soon destroy them.

Into the midst of the strain and crisis of civilization, the socialist movement comes as the only conservative force. If the world is to be saved from chaos, from universal disorder and misery, it must be by the union of the workers of all nations in the socialist movement. The socialist party comes with the only proposition or program for intelligently and deliberately organizing the nation for the common good of all its citizens. It is the first time that the mind of man has ever been directed toward the conscious organization of society.

Socialism means that all those things upon which the people in common depend shall by the people in common be owned and administered. It means that the tools of employment shall belong to their creators and users; that all production shall be for the direct use of the producers; that the making of goods for profit shall come to an end; that we shall all be workers together; and that all opportunities shall be open and equal to all men.

V.

To the end that the workers may seize every possible advantage that may strengthen them to gain complete control of the powers of government, and thereby the sooner establish the co-operative commonwealth, the Socialist Party pledges itself to work and work in both the economic and the political struggle, for each successive immediate interest of the working class; for shortened days of labor and increases of wages; for the insurance of the workers against accident, sickness and lack of employment; for pensions for aged and exhausted workers; for the public ownership of the means of transportation, communication and exchange; for the graduated taxation of incomes, inheritances, franchises and land values, the proceeds to be applied to the public employment and improvement of the conditions of the workers; for the complete education of children, and their freedom from the workshop; for the prevention of the use of the military against labor in the settlement of strikes; for the free administration of justice; for popular government, including initiative, referendum, proportional representation, equal suffrage of men and women, municipal home rule, and the recall of officers by their constituents; and for every gain or advantage for the workers that may be wrested from the capitalist system, and that may relieve the suffering and strengthen the hands of labor. We lay upon every man elected to any executive or legislative office the first duty of striving to procure whatever is for the workers' most immediate interest, and for whatever will lessen the economic and political powers of the capitalist, and increase the like powers of the worker.

But, in so doing, we are using these remedial measures as means to the great end of the co-operative commonwealth. Such measures of relief as we may be able to force from capitalism are but a preparation of the workers to seize the whole powers of government, in order that they may thereby lay hold of the whole system of industry, and thus come into their rightful inheritance.

To this end we pledge ourselves, as the party of the working class, to use all political power, as fast as it shall be entrusted to us by our fellow-workers, both for their immediate interests and for their ultimate and complete emancipation. To this end we appeal to all the workers of America, and to all who will lend their lives to the service of the workers in their struggle to gain their

own, and to all who will nobly and disinterestedly give their days and energies unto the workers' cause, to cast in their lot and faith with the socialist party. Our appeal for the trust and suffrages of our fellow-workers is at once an appeal for their common good and freedom, and for the freedom and blossoming of our common humanity. In pledging ourselves, and those we represent, to be faithful to the appeal which we make, we believe that we are but preparing the soil of that economic freedom from which will spring the freedom of the whole man.

No. 3.

The National Constitution

AS REPORTED BY THE COMMITTEE ON CONSTITUTION AND AFTERWARDS
AMENDED AND ADOPTED BY THE CONVENTION.

ARTICLE I.

Name.

Section 1. The name of this organization shall be the Socialist Party, except in such states where a different name has or may become a legal requirement.

ARTICLE II.

Membership.

Section 1. Every person, resident of the United States, of the age of eighteen years and upward, without distinction of sex, race, color or creed, who has severed his connection with all other political parties, who subscribes to the principles of the party, shall be eligible to membership in the Party.

Sec. 2. Any person occupying a position, honorary or remunerative, by the gift of any other political party (civil service positions excepted) shall not be eligible to membership in the Socialist Party.

Sec. 3. A member who desires to transfer his membership from a local in one state to a local in another state may do so upon the presentation of his card showing him to be in good standing at the time of asking for such transfer.

Sec. 4. No member of the party, in any state or territory, shall under any pretext, interfere with the regular or organized movement in any other state.

ARTICLE III.

Management.

Section 1. The affairs of the Socialist Party shall be administered by a National Committee, its officers and executive committee, the party conventions, and the general vote of the party.

ARTICLE IV.

National Committee.

Section 1. Each Organized state or territory shall be represented on the National Committee by one member and by an additional member for every one thousand members or major fraction thereof, in good standing in the party. For the purpose of determining the representation to which each state or territory may be entitled, the National Secretary shall compute at the beginning of each year the average dues-paying membership of such state or territory for the preceding year.

Sec. 2. The members of this committee shall be elected by referendum vote of and from the membership of the states or territories which they respectively represent. Their term of office shall not be more than two years. The members of the National Committee shall be subject to removal by referendum vote of their respective states.

Sec. 3. The National Committee shall meet in regular session once a year in all even-numbered years when no national convention of the party shall take place. Special meetings shall be called at the request of a majority of members

of the committee. The dates and places of such meetings shall be determined by the National Committee.

Sec. 4. Expenses of the National Committeemen in attending meetings shall be paid from the National treasury.

Sec. 5. Between the sessions of the National Committee, all its business shall be transacted by correspondence.

Sec. 6. The National Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with the provisions of this constitution.

ARTICLE V.

Duties and Powers of the National Committee.

Section 1. The duties of this committee shall be to represent the party in all national and international affairs; to call national nominating conventions and special conventions decided upon by the referendum of the party; to make reports to national conventions, and to receive and pass upon all reports and actions of the Executive Committee. The National Committee shall also arrange the rules and order of business for all Conventions, subject to adoption or amendment by the Convention.

Sec. 2. The National Committee shall neither publish nor designate any official organ.

ARTICLE VI.

Executive Committee.

Section 1. The Executive Committee of the National Committee shall be composed of seven members to be elected by the National Committee, from the membership of the party; but no more than three members of the said committee shall be elected from one state. The term of office of the members of the Executive Committee shall be one year.

Sec. 2. The Executive Committee shall meet at least once in three months. It shall supervise and direct the work of the National Secretary, organize unorganized states and territories, receive semi-annual reports from the state committees, receive and pass upon the reports of the National Secretary, and transact all current business of the national office, except such as are by this constitution or by the rules of the National Committee expressly reserved for the National Committee or the general vote of the party.

Sec. 3. The Executive Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure not inconsistent with this constitution or with the rules of the National Committee.

Sec. 4. The Executive Committee shall transmit copies of the minutes of its meetings to all members of the National Committee, and all its acts and resolutions shall be subject to the revision of the National Committee.

Sec. 5. Between sessions of the Executive Committee all its business shall be transacted by correspondence.

ARTICLE VII.

National Secretary.

Section 1. The National Secretary shall be elected by the National Committee; his term of office shall be one year. The National Secretary shall receive as compensation the sum of Fifteen Hundred Dollars annually.

Sec. 2. The National Secretary shall have charge of all affairs of the National office subject to the direction of the Executive Committee and the National Committee. He shall receive the reports of the state organizations and of the local organizations in unorganized states and territories. He shall supervise the accounts of the national office, and the work of the lecture bureau, the literature bureau and such other departments as may hereafter be established in connection with the national office.

Sec. 3. The National Secretary shall issue to all party organizations, in such way as the Executive Committee may direct, monthly bulletins containing

a report of the financial affairs of the Party, a summary of the conditions and the membership of the several states and territorial organizations, the principal business transacted by his office, and such other matters pertaining to the organization and activity of the party, as may be of general interest to the membership. Such bulletins shall not contain editorial comment.

Sec. 4. The National Secretary shall be empowered to secure such help as may be necessary for the proper transaction of the business of his office.

Sec. 5. The National Secretary may be removed from office at any time by a majority vote of the members of the National Committee.

ARTICLE VIII.

The Lecture Bureau.

Section 1. There shall be maintained in connection with the National office a Lecture Bureau for the purpose of arranging tours for lecturers for the propagation of Socialism.

Sec. 2. The Lecture Bureau shall have no connection with the work of organization, and it shall have the right to make arrangements for the lecturers under its auspices with all state or local organizations of the party.

Sec. 3. The National Committee shall establish a uniform rate of compensation for all lecturers and organizers working under its auspices.

ARTICLE IX.

The Literature Bureau.

Section 1. The National Committee shall also maintain in the headquarters of the party a department for the dissemination of socialist literature.

Sec. 2. The Literature Bureau shall keep for sale to the local organizations of the party and others, a stock of socialist books, pamphlets and other literature, and shall have the right, with the approval of the Committee, to publish works on socialism or for the purposes of socialist propaganda, but this clause shall not be construed as authorizing the Bureau to publish any periodical.

Sec. 3. The profits of the Literature Bureau shall go into the general funds of the party treasury.

ARTICLE X.

Conventions.

Section 1. The regular national conventions of the party shall be held in all years in which elections for President and Vice-President of the United States are to be held.

Sec. 2. Special conventions of the party may be held at any time if decided upon by a general vote of the party membership.

Sec. 3. The dates and places of holding such regular or special conventions shall be fixed by the National Committee.

Sec. 4. The basis of representation in any national convention shall be by states, each state and territory being entitled to one delegate at large; and one additional delegate for every two hundred members in good standing; provided, however, that no delegate shall be considered eligible unless he is a resident of the state from which the credential is presented.

Sec. 5. Railroad fare of the delegates, going to and coming from the convention, shall be paid from the national treasury, and such expenses shall be raised by a per capita assessment on the entire membership.

ARTICLE XI.

Referendum.

Section 1. Motions to amend any part of this constitution, as well as any other motions or resolutions to be voted upon by the entire membership of the party, shall be submitted by the National Secretary to a referendum of the party

membership, upon the request of twenty local organizations, in five or more states or territories, or any smaller number of local organizations having a membership of at least two thousand in the aggregate.

Sec. 2. Whenever a request for a referendum shall have been made as above provided, the National Secretary shall forthwith cause the same to be published in the party press, and shall allow such question to stand open for thirty days within which time amendments may be offered thereto in the same manner in which an original request for a referendum is to be made, and at the close of the said period of thirty days, the original motion submitted to referendum, together with all and any amendments which might have been offered, shall be submitted to the vote of the party members, and such vote shall close forty-five days thereafter.

Sec. 5. All propositions or other matters submitted for the referendum of the party shall be presented without preamble or comment.

ARTICLE XII.

State Organizations.

Section 1. The formation of all state or territorial organizations or the reorganization of state or territorial organizations which may have lapsed shall be under the direction of the Executive Committee, and in conformity with the rules of the National Committee.

Sec. 2. No state or territory may be organized unless it has at least ten locals with an aggregate membership of not less than one hundred, but this provision shall not affect the rights of states and territories organized prior to the adoption of this constitution.

Sec. 3. The platform of the Socialist Party shall be the supreme declaration of the party, and all state and municipal platforms shall conform thereto; and no state or local organization shall under any circumstances fuse, combine or compromise with any other political party or organization, or refrain from making nominations in order to favor the candidate of such other organizations, nor shall any candidate of the Socialist Party accept any nomination or endorsement from any other party or political organization.

Sec. 4. In states and territories in which there is one central organization affiliated with the party, the state or territorial organizations shall have the sole jurisdiction of the members residing within their respective territories, and the sole control of all matters pertaining to the propaganda, organization and financial affairs within such state or territory; their activity shall be confined to their respective organizations, and the National Committee and sub-committees or officers thereof shall have no right to interfere in such matters without the consent of the respective state or territorial organizations.

Sec. 5. The State Committee shall make monthly reports to the National Secretary concerning their membership, financial condition and general standing of the party.

Sec. 6. The State Committees shall pay to the National Committees every month a sum equal to five cents for every member in good standing within their respective territories.

Sec. 7. All state organizations shall provide in their constitutions for the initiative, referendum and imperative mandate.

Sec. 8. No person shall be nominated or endorsed by any subdivision of the party for candidate unless he is a member of the party, and has been such for at least one year; but this provision shall not apply to organizations which have been in existence for less than one year.

ARTICLE XIII.

Headquarters.

Section 1. The location of the headquarters of the party shall be determined by the National Committee.

ARTICLE XIV.

Amendments.

Section 1. This constitution may be amended by a national convention or by a referendum of the party in the manner above provided.

ARTICLE XV.

Time and Method of Taking Effect.

Section 1. This Constitution shall take effect, and be in force, from and after the time of its approval by national referendum of the party membership. In voting upon this constitution members must vote upon it as a whole.

No. 4.

Report of Committee on State and Municipal Program

The following report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program was referred to the National Committee for revision, to be afterwards submitted to a referendum of the party:

To the National Convention of the Socialist Party, assembled in Chicago, Ill., May, 1904:

Comrades: Your Committee on State and Municipal Program beg leave to submit the following report:

We wish first of all to call the attention of the convention to the fact that the report of this committee is unanimous. This is contrary to the expectations of the members of the committee, but is the apparently natural outcome of the discussion which took place in the sessions of the committee.

We wish, secondly, to express the opinion of the committee that nothing in this report, if adopted by the convention, is to be considered as otherwise than suggestive, or as being in any way mandatory or binding upon the various state and municipal conventions; since the various states and municipalities have their own characteristic economic development and political situation.

In view of the difficulties attending the work of those elected to public office to represent the Socialist Party, as already developed in the experience of such officials, and also in view of the problems attending the proper preparation of state and municipal platforms, your committee have adopted the following resolutions, and transmitted a copy of them to the Committee on Constitution:

Whereas, The Committee on State and Municipal Program regard it as essential that the Socialist Party should have a permanent Committee on State and Municipal Affairs, with a permanent Secretary, whose office shall be at the national headquarters; therefore, be it

Resolved, That we, the Committee on State and Municipal Program, recommend that in the constitution of the party, provision should be made for the organization of a Committee on State and Municipal Affairs, with a permanent Secretary, whose office shall be at the national headquarters, and recommend that the following provisions become a part of the constitution of the party:

Section A. There shall be elected at each national convention a Committee of nine on State and Municipal Affairs.

Sec. B. The committee shall have power to fill vacancies occurring among its members during the interim between the meeting of the national conventions.

Sec. C. The object of the committee shall be that of an advisory committee to suggest lines of activity to local and state officers and to assist them in securing data and in the preparation of resolutions, ordinances, bills and such other legal measures for the carrying out of the Socialist program as may be necessary, and also to advise the party, where it may desire, in the preparation of local and state programs.

Sec. D. The Committee on State and Municipal Affairs shall, on the approval of the Executive Committee of the National Committee, elect a permanent secretary, whose office shall be at the national headquarters, and his compensation shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

Sec. E. The expenses of the Committee on State and Municipal Affairs while attending its meetings shall be paid from the National Treasury.

STATE PROGRAM

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ACTIVITY OF SOCIALIST MEMBERS OF THE STATE LEGISLATURE WHILE THE SOCIALIST PARTY IS A MINOR PARTY.

PREAMBLE FOR STATE PROGRAM.

The principles of the Socialist platform cannot be carried into full effect while the Socialist Party is a minority party. The work of Socialist members of the state legislatures and local administrations under present circumstances must necessarily be confined to efforts for the realizing of such limited measures as they may be able to wrest from the capitalist majority for the benefit of and in the interests of the working class. In presenting and advocating such measures the Socialist members of the state legislatures and of local administrations must bear in mind the fact that they are fighting on a parliamentary basis the class struggle which brought into existence the Socialist movement and the Socialist Party. They must defend the interests of the working class against the encroachments of the capitalist class, and decline in their parliamentary work any trading with capitalist representatives for favorable legislation. Socialists in state legislatures and local administrations may well be guided by the advice of the permanent Committee on State and Municipal Program provided by the national constitution of the Socialist Party.

The following suggestions are made as a preliminary basis for the activity of Socialist members of the state legislatures and local administrations, with the understanding that they are not mandatory, binding, or anything else than suggestive:

PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

Freedom of speech and expression of opinion by teachers and students.
Free text-books for teachers and pupils; uniform text-books on all subjects to be furnished free to public schools, and to private schools on request.
The choice of text-books to be left to a committee composed of teachers and students in all institutions above the grade of high schools.
In history and economics, the proletarian standpoint to receive equal consideration with the capitalist standpoint.

Compulsory education for both sexes up to the age of 18 years.
Co-education in all branches of science, and manual training for both sexes to be continued through all grades.

Adequate provisions for harmonious physical culture and development through a systematic course of gymnastics and open air exercises, a minimum time for such exercises to be made a requirement for students of both sexes throughout all grades.

Extension of the public school system to assure equal educational opportunities to all classes in all branches of learning; public supervision of all educational institutions to secure an equal educational standard.

STATE MILITARY LAW.

The repeal of all militia law which surrenders the power of the governor over the militia to the federal authorities; and members of the state militia to be exempt from all other military service.

The right of privates of the state militia to elect their officers; and state militia to be confined within state limits.

Federal troops to be prohibited from interfering in disputes between capitalists and laborers.

CITIES.

The autonomy of all municipalities in the matter of the ownership and operation of all enterprises vital to the municipality as such.

PUBLIC WORKS.

For the purpose of employing the unemployed and educating citizens in co-operation, the state to inaugurate a system of good roads, a comprehensive system of drainage, forestry and irrigation, state farms in connection with agricultural experiment stations, and to build homes to be rented at a price not exceeding the cost of production and maintenance.

The contract system to be abolished in all public works and such work to be done by the state directly.

OLD AGE PENSIONERS.

All persons above the age of 60 to be exempt from labor, and to be entitled to pensions of not less than the current minimum wage.

SICK AND DISABLED.

Adequate facilities to be provided, at public expense, for the care and maintenance of all sick and disabled persons.

TAXATION.

A graduated income tax and graduated inheritance tax to be imposed, such revenue to be used solely in the interest of the working class, not to relieve the middle class of taxation.

LIQUOR TRAFFIC.

Public control of the entire liquor traffic.

REGULATION OF CORPORATIONS.

Railroad and all other corporations operating under public franchises to be placed under state control, and to have their rates fixed by law.

THE COURTS.

The abolition of all court costs and sheriff's fees in the commencement of suits, and the abolition of all costs for appealing cases to the courts of last resort.
The establishment of free legal departments.
Sufficient courts to secure speedy trials.

PRISON SYSTEM.

The present brutal system of treating criminal persons to be replaced by a system of pathological treatment. This includes the abolition of the prison contract system, death penalties and isolated confinement, and the substitution therefore of sanitariums in rural localities with adequate healthful open-air employment, and treatment corresponding to modern scientific psychological pathology.

SUFFRAGE.

The right to vote not to be contingent upon the payment of any taxes, either in money or public labor.

Women to have equal political rights with men.

Residence qualifications for all elections not to exceed sixty days.

LABOR LEGISLATION.

An eight hour day and a minimum wage, uniform for both sexes.
Free state employment agencies.

All specific laws detrimental to the working class to be repealed, such as conspiracy, anti-boycott and anti-picketing laws; and the abolition of the injunction as a means of breaking strikes.

Trial by jury in all cases by which a person may be deprived of liberty.

INSPECTION.

Public inspection of all factories and institutions employing labor.

LAND.

All land held for speculation, and all land not occupied or used by the owner to be subject to purchase by the state at an advance of 10 per cent. on the assessed valuation, as fixed by the owner.

All public forest and mining lands to be developed under state direction and control directly, and farm lands to be open for use with public assistance.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

The initiative, referendum and imperative mandate to be put into operation.

MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

SUGGESTIONS FOR THE ACTIVITY OF LOCAL SOCIALIST ADMINISTRATIONS WHILE THE PARTY IS A MINORITY PARTY.

PREAMBLE FOR MUNICIPAL PROGRAM.

Socialist representatives in municipal administration should always bear clearly in mind the scientific basis of the Socialist municipal program. Under capitalism the municipalization of the public enterprises has been compelled in the interest of the business man. The graft of a few has come to interfere with the graft of the remainder of the business world, on account of the development of machinery vital to municipal life. There has followed as a result of this what might be called municipal capitalism, which would operate these publicly owned industries for the purpose of reducing the taxes of present property holders.

It must be borne in mind that Socialism will operate these enterprises in one of the three following ways:

First. All service absolutely free of cost to the public, paid for out of the general fund. Instance, the roads and streets, police service, and the free water supply of New Orleans.

Second. Service at cost production. Instance, the usual theory of water supply and of the United States postoffice.

Third. Service furnished at a profit to the municipality, the profits to be used for the benefit of the whole community. Instance, the taking of water works profits for the perfection of fire department and extension of parks, bath and playground systems.

All other measures are to be considered in the light of their bearing upon the working class as such. Those which will prepare the working people for their part in the class struggle by increase of intelligence, strengthening of their bodies, securing independence or certainty of their victory. On the other hand, the taking away from the capitalist class of exclusive privileges, making the courts free to all and securing, as far as possible, the limitation of those powers financial, legal, social and political which have accumulated in the hands of the capitalist class will tend, of course, to make the victory of the working class more easy at every step.

PUBLIC EDUCATION.**I.—CHANGES IN INSTRUCTION.**

1. Sufficient kindergartens for all children of proper age.
2. Manual training (not trade schools) in all grades.
3. General introduction of idea of development and freedom in education with close connection with things, according to principles of modern pedagogy.

4. Teaching of economics and history with evolution of industry as base.
5. Establishment of vacation schools.
6. Adequate night schools for adults.
7. Instruction of children as to child labor legislation and rights of children before the law.

II.—CHANGES AFFECTING TEACHING FORCE.

1. Adequate number of teachers (small classes in all schools).
2. Normal school training required as minimum qualification for teaching.
3. Right of trial for teachers before dismissal.
4. Pensions for teachers when superannuated or disabled.

III.—CARE OF CHILDREN.

1. Uniform free text-books for all schools, public and private, on demand.
2. Free meals and clothing.
3. Free medical service, inspection for eyes, ears, mental faculties (for educational purposes), and for contagion.

IV.—EQUIPMENT.

1. Adequate buildings, numerous, not too large.
2. Ample playgrounds, with physical instructor in charge.
3. Museums, art galleries, libraries, etc., enlarged and accessible to all children through frequent visits accompanied by teachers.
4. Baths and gymnasiums in each school.
5. All school buildings open evenings, Sundays and holidays for public assemblies.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP.**I.—PRINCIPLES OF MANAGEMENT.**

1. Reduction of hours and increase of wages to correspond with improvements in production.
2. No profits to be used for reduction of taxation.
3. Pension for all city employees when sick and disabled.

II.—INDUSTRIES SUGGESTED FOR OWNERSHIP.

1. All industries dependent on franchises, such as street cars, electric and gas lighting, telephones, etc.
2. Bakeries, ice-houses, coal and wood yards, department stores, slaughter-houses where they are needed.

III.—MUNICIPAL AUTONOMY.

1. Municipal autonomy for the ownership and operation of all enterprises vital to the municipality as such.
2. Issuance of bonds for this purpose up to 50 per cent of the assessed valuation.
3. Issuance of debenture bonds, secured by plants to be acquired or built.

WORKING CLASS GOVERNMENT.

1. Police not to be used in interest of employer against strikers.
2. Free legal advice.
3. Abolition of fee system in all courts. Trial by jury without extra expense.
4. Abolition of fines as alternative to imprisonment.
5. Establishment of municipal labor bureau for investigation, inspection and report upon conditions of labor.

GENERAL MEASURES FOR PUBLIC RELIEF.

1. Establishment of useful works and extension of public functions to give work to unemployed.
2. Free medical service, including free medicine.
3. Adequate hospital service with no taint of charity.
4. Homes for aged and invalid.
5. Night lodgings for men out of employment and without homes.
6. Pensions for all public employes.
7. Free public crematory.

DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC HEALTH.

1. Inspection of food, punishment of all harmful adulteration.
2. Public disinfection after contagious diseases.
3. Publicly owned and administered baths, wash-houses, closets, laboratories, drug stores, and such other things as care of public health demands.
4. Adequate system of parks, public play-grounds and gymnasiums.

FACTORY LEGISLATION.

1. Special laws for protection of both women and children in both mercantile and industrial pursuits.
2. No child under 18 may be permitted to work at any gainful occupation, including selling papers, blacking shoes, etc.

HOUSING QUESTION.

1. Strict legislation against over-crowding, provision for light and ventilation in all rooms.
2. Building of municipal apartments to rent at cost of care of buildings and depreciation—no return for ground rent to be demanded.
3. Condemnation and destruction by the city of all tenements not conforming to proper standards of light, ventilation and over-crowding.

PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT.

1. Direct employment by the city—abolition of contract system.
2. Fixing of minimum wage not lower than standard trade union rate.

TAXATION.

1. Progressive income tax, such revenue to be used solely in the interests of the working class, and not to relieve the middle class of taxation.
2. Taxation of ground rents.
3. Exemption of household furniture and laborers' homes up to \$2,000.

MISCELLANEOUS.

1. Erection of "Labor Temple" by municipality as headquarters, meeting place and educational center for workers of the city.
2. Publication of municipal bulletin, containing complete news of all municipal activity.

The Committee: Ernest Untermann, Illinois, Chairman; John M. Work, Iowa, Secretary; Seymour Steadman, Illinois; Winfield R. Gaylord, Wisconsin; S. M. Reynolds, Indiana; Lucella R. Kraybill, Kansas; J. J. Kelley, Massachusetts; Warren Atkinson, New York.

No. 6.

Rules of the Convention

(Report of the Committee on Rules, after amendment and adoption by the Convention.)

1. A Chairman and Vice-Chairman shall be elected at the commencement of each day's session.

2. A Secretary and two (2) Assistants shall be elected for the entire convention.

3. A Reading Clerk and one (1) Assistant shall be elected for the convention.

4. A Sergeant-at-Arms and Assistant shall be appointed for the entire convention.

5. Five (5) Pages and five (5) Messengers shall be appointed from visiting members by the Sergeant-at-Arms.

6. Four (4) Tellers and two (2) Judges to count all ballots shall be appointed for the entire convention.

7. A Committee on Platform shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

8. A Committee on Constitution shall be elected to consist of nine (9) members.

9. A Committee on Resolutions shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

10. A Committee on State and Municipal Program shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

11. The Standing Committee on Municipal Program appointed by the Indianapolis Convention shall report to the Committee on State and Municipal Program.

12. A Press Committee shall be appointed, to consist of five (5) members.

13. An Auditing Committee of five (5) members shall be appointed by the chair, to stand unless objected to by the convention.

14. A Committee on Ways and Means shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

15. A Committee on Trades Unions shall be elected, to consist of nine (9) members.

16. Discussions shall be limited to ten (10) minutes for each speaker. No speaker shall speak a second time until all desiring to use their time shall have

had an opportunity to speak.

17. The sessions of the Convention shall begin at 9 a. m. and continue to 12 a. m., and from 1:30 p. m. to 5:30 p. m.; and a night session as soon as the reports of committees are ready or have been called for. The night sessions shall extend from 7:30 to 9:30.

18. Roberts' Rules of Order shall be used, with the exception that when the previous question has been called for, three delegates on each side of the question shall be allowed three minutes each for closing the debate before the question is put.

19. During the sessions of the Convention no smoking shall be allowed on the floor of the Convention.

20. Order of Business:

1. Report of the Committee on Credentials.
2. Report of the National Secretary.
3. Report of Local Quorum.
4. Report of the Committee on Platform.
5. Report of the Committee on State and Municipal Program.
6. Report of the Committee on Resolutions.
7. Nomination of Candidate for President.
8. Nomination of Candidate for Vice-President.
9. Report of Secretary of the International Socialist Bureau.
10. Election of delegates to the International Socialist Congress.
11. Report of Committee on Ways and Means.
12. Report of Auditing Committee.
13. Report of the Committee on Constitution.
21. All votes to be taken by ayes and nays, and, when division is asked for, by a rising vote. Roll call to be had only when asked for by majority.
22. Minority Report from the Committee on Rules.

No. 5.

Resolutions

ADOPTED, AFTER AMENDMENT, BY THE CONVENTION

ON THE COLORADO OUTRAGES.

"Whereas, The Socialist Party is the only political organization of the working class, pledged to all its struggles and working ceaselessly for its emancipation, it declares this convention against the brutality of capitalistic rule and the suppression of popular rights and liberties which attends it; and calls upon all the workers of the country to unite with it in the struggle for the overthrow of capitalist domination and the establishment of economic equality and freedom.

"Time after time workers have been imprisoned, beaten and murdered for no other reason than that they were struggling for some measure of that comfort and decency of existence to which as the producers of wealth they are entitled. The master class has, in various states and cities, organized citizens' alliances, manufacturers' associations, anti-boycott associations and the like, which, in order to disrupt and crush out the economic organization of the workers, have instituted a reign of lawlessness and tyranny, and assailed all the fundamental principles and most cherished institutions of personal and collective freedom. By suborning the executive and judicial powers in various states they have infringed upon the liberties of the American people.

"Under their baleful influences, in direct contravention of the letter and the spirit of the Constitution, civil authority has been made subordinate to the military in Pennsylvania, Colorado and elsewhere. Freedom of the press and the right of public assembly have been denied in many states; and by the Dick militia bill liability to compulsory military service has been imposed upon all males between the ages of eighteen and forty-five.

"At the present time there exists in Colorado a state of violent capitalist anarchy and lawlessness with the consent and under the armed protection of the state government. Peaceable citizens have been forcibly deported by armed bodies of lawbreakers, aided and abetted by military usurpers of the civil powers; involuntary servitude has been imposed by injunctions compelling citizens to work under conditions distasteful to them. Innocent and law-abiding citizens have been arrested without warrant, imprisoned without trial, and when acquitted by decision of the civil courts, held by the military in defiance of every principle of civil authority and government; and the right of habeas corpus, for centuries cherished as a safeguard for personal liberty, has been unlawfully suspended, with the result that in a so-called 'free state' of our so-called 'free republic' there exists a despotism greater and more infamous than that which has ever characterized Russian autocracy.

"Now, we declare these conditions in Colorado are the natural and logical results of the prevailing economic system which permits the private ownership of the means of the common life and renders the wage-working class dependent for life itself upon the owners of the means of production and distribution. Between these two classes, the workers and the masters of their bread, there exists a state of constant warfare, a bitter and irrepressible class conflict. Labor, organized for self-protection and to secure better conditions of life, is met by powerful organizations of the master class, whose supreme power lies in the fact that all the functions of the government, legislative, judicial and executive, have been

unwittingly placed in their hands by their victims. Controlling all the forces of government, they are entrenched in a position from which they can only be dislodged by political methods.

"Therefore, this convention of the Socialist Party reaffirms this principle of the International Socialist Movement, that the supreme issue is the conquest by the working class of all the powers of government and the use of those powers for the overthrow of class rule, and the establishment of that common ownership of the means of the common life which alone can free individual and collective man."

THE NEW YORK DAILY CALL.

"Whereas, daily newspapers which shall stand as the uncompromising champions of the working class and the exponents of the principles of the Socialist Party constitute one of the most urgent needs of the Socialist movement of the United States, and

Whereas, the Socialists of New York announce that they will begin the publication September 1st of the New York Daily Call, a newspaper devoted to the interests of the Socialist Party and the working class.

Resolved that we, the delegates of the National Socialist Convention assembled at Chicago, May 1st, 1904, do hereby cordially endorse the project to establish the New York Daily Call, and we call upon the Socialists of the United States to render every assistance in their power to the New York Comrades having the enterprise in charge."

THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR.

"Whereas, The conflicting commercial interests of the ruling classes in Russia and Japan have induced the governments of those countries to bring about war between the Russian and Japanese nations; and

Whereas, the working people of Russia and Japan have no interest in waging this campaign of bloody warfare, be it

Resolved, That this convention of the Socialist Party of America sends greetings of Fraternity and Solidarity to the working people of Russia and Japan, and condemns the Russo-Japanese War as a crime against progress and civilization. And be it further

Resolved, That we appeal to the wage workers of Russia and Japan to join hands with the International Socialist movement in its struggle for world peace."

COMPENSATION OF SPEAKERS.

"Whereas, It is the practice of some lecturers and organizers to engage with organizations of the Socialist Party, at an indefinite compensation, dependent upon their success in collecting funds or selling literature, or else engaging without understanding as to compensation; and

Whereas, Under such conditions the ability of a comrade to remain in the field depends upon circumstances other than usefulness in the propagation of clean-cut Socialism; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this convention declares itself opposed to speculative methods of compensating lecturers and organizers, and in favor of the payment of a definite pre-determined salary or fee."

REGULATION OF SPEAKERS.

"Whereas, exorbitant salaries or fees have sometimes been paid to speakers and organizers for their services; and

Whereas, Such practices are altogether unwarranted and unjust in a proletarian movement; therefore, be it

Resolved, That this body declares itself opposed to paying speakers or other workers employed by the party exorbitant fees or salaries, placing them above the standard of the working class the party represents; and we

Recommend: That, as far as possible locals of the Socialist Party should engage their speakers and organizers through the national or state organizations, thus discouraging the abuses arising from the unsatisfactory methods at present pursued."

THE TRADES UNION RESOLUTION.

"The trades and labor union movement is a natural result of the capitalist system of production and is necessary to resist the encroachments of capitalism. It is a weapon to protect the class interests of labor under the capitalistic system. However, this industrial struggle can only lessen the exploitation, but cannot abolish it. The exploitation of labor will only cease when the working class shall own all the means of production and distribution. To achieve this end the working class must consciously become the dominant political power. The organization of the workers will not be complete until they unite on the political as well as the industrial field on the lines of the class struggle.

The trade union struggle cannot attain lasting success without the political activity of the Socialist Party. The workers must fortify and permanently secure by their political power what they have wrung from their exploiters in the economic struggle. In accordance with the decisions of the International Socialist Congresses in Brussels, Zurich and London, this Convention reaffirms the declarations that the trade and labor unions are a necessity in the struggle to aid in emancipating the working class, and we consider it the duty of all wage workers to join with this movement.

Neither political nor other differences of opinion justify the divisions of the forces of labor in the industrial movement. The interests of the working class make it imperative that the labor organizations equip their members for the great work of the abolition of wage slavery by educating them in Socialist Principles."

INTERNATIONAL DELEGATES.

Resolved, first: That this convention now proceed to the election of a delegate to the International Socialist Congress, to be held in Amsterdam in August, 1904. Second: That the election of this delegate be by ballot, and that the candidate receiving the largest number of votes upon such ballot serve as delegate. Third: That this convention and the National Committee of the party shall be authorized to issue credentials for the attendance at the International Congress as delegates of the party, to such and as many additional members in good standing in the party, not exceeding twenty in all, as may apply for such credentials, intending to attend said Congress at their own expense. Fourth: That no state or local organization of the party shall issue credentials to delegates to the said International Congress. Fifth: That an alternate delegate be also selected."

THE NATIONAL CAMPAIGN FUND.

"Resolved, That the Socialist Party recommends that party members donate during the month of June, 1904, one-half day's wages to the National Campaign Fund, one-third of the amount derived therefrom to be retained by the local, one-third by the state, and one-third by the national organization."

MISCELLANEOUS.

"Resolved, That this Convention request all unattached Socialists to file their names and residences with the respective State or the National Secretary, as the case may be.

That we instruct the National Secretary to have the Platform and such other printed matter in one little pamphlet for the use of the membership as quick as possible."

The Socialist Party

NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS:

269 Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

NATIONAL SECRETARY,

WILLIAM MAILLY

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST BUREAU:

63 Rue Heyvaert, Brussels, Belgium.

SECRETARY,

VICTOR SERWY

National Committee

Alabama	B. Andrus	1108 N. 14th St., Birmingham.
Arizona	H. H. Keays	Groom Creek.
Arkansas	L. W. Lowry	2224 Ringo St., Little Rock.
California	N. A. Richardson	San Bernardino.
Colorado	A. H. Floaten	Basswood, Wis.
Connecticut	W. E. White	229 Exchange St., New Haven.
Florida	C. F. Carter	Longwood.
Idaho	C. F. Carter	Boise.
Illinois	B. Berlyn	662 E. 63d St., Chicago.
Indiana	S. M. Reynolds	1115 S. 6th St., Terre Haute.
Iowa	John M. Work	1313 Harrison Ave., Des Moines.
Kentucky	Chas. G. Townner	331 Scott St., Covington.
Kansas	Walter Thomas Mills	1429 Masonic Temple, Chicago.
Louisiana	Wilbur Putnam	Evangeline.
Maine	Chas. L. Fox	10 Free St., Portland.
Massachusetts	John C. Chase	64 E. 4th St., New York, N. Y.
Michigan	Wm. E. Walter	Hotel Irwin, Bad Axe, Mich.
Minnesota	S. M. Holman	11 Oak St., S. E., Minneapolis.
Missouri	Geo. H. Turner	14 Rookery Bldg., Kansas City.
Montana	J. F. Fox	71 E. Park St., Butte.
Nebraska	C. Christensen	Salida, Colo.
New Hampshire	M. H. O'Neil	4 C St., Nashua.
New Jersey	Chas. Ufert	590 Clinton Ave., W. Hoboken.
New York	Morris Hillquit	320 Broadway, New York City.
N. Dakota	Tonnes Thams	Fargo.
Ohio	Howard H. Caldwell	522 N. Summit St., Dayton.
Oklahoma	C. C. Halbrooks	203 N. Emporia Ave., Wichita, Kan.
Oregon	B. F. Ramp	Salem.
Pennsylvania	J. Mathlon Barnes	232 N. 9th St., Philadelphia.
S. Dakota	Samuel Lovett	Aberdeen.
Texas	John Kerrigan	346 Elm St., Dallas.
Vermont	John W. Arvidson	Rutland.
Washington	Geo. E. Boomer	Prosser.
Wisconsin	Victor L. Berger	344 Sixth St., Milwaukee.

State Secretaries

Alabama	F. X. Waldhorst	1016 S. 23d St., Birmingham.
Arkansas	E. W. Perrin	304 Scott St., Little Rock.
Arizona	Albert Ryan	Jerome.
California	Edgar B. Helfenstein	822 W. 2d St., Los Angeles.
Colorado	J. W. Martin	420 Charles Bldg., Denver.
Connecticut	A. B. Cornelius	Box 45, New Haven.
Florida	Wm. C. Green	Orlando.
Illinois	Jas. S. Smith	163 Randolph.
Indiana	Harry Hart	134 E. Washington St., Indianapolis.
Idaho	L. E. Workman	Boise.
Iowa	J. J. Jacobsen	1129 12th St., Des Moines.
Kansas	Thos. E. Will	Sedgwick Bldg., Wichita.
Kentucky	Walter Lanfersick	506 Wash. Ave., Newport.
Louisiana	P. Aloysius Molyneux	372 Walnut St., New Orleans.
Maine	W. E. Pelsey	Box 44, Lewiston.
Massachusetts	Fred E. Irish	699 Washington St., Boston.
Michigan	J. A. C. Meent	1323 S. Saginaw St., Flint.
Minnesota	J. E. Nash	45 S. 4th St., Minneapolis.
Missouri	T. E. Palmer	Rookery Bldg., Kansas City.
Montana	Wm. H. Pierce	708 S. Main St., Butte.
Nebraska	J. P. Roe	519 N. 16th St., Omaha.
New Hampshire	W. H. Wilkins	Box 521, Claremont.
New Jersey	W. B. Killingbeck	270 Main St., Orange.
New York	Henry L. Slobodin	64 E. 4th St., New York City.
North Dakota	T. R. C. Crowells	Fargo.
Ohio	Edward Gardner	318 Chappell St., Dayton.
Oklahoma	D. S. Landis	Stillwater.
Oregon	A. H. Axelson	1070 Union Ave., N., Portland.
Pennsylvania	Franklin H. Slick	1305 Arch St., Philadelphia.
Rhode Island	John W. Higgins	409 Webster Ave., Arlington.
South Dakota	Samuel Lovett	Aberdeen.
Texas	E. B. Latham	Box 126, Gainesville.
Vermont	John Anderson	106 Sumner St., Barre.
Washington	E. E. Martin	Box 717, Seattle.
West Virginia	F. A. Zimmerman (Acting)	McMechen.
Wisconsin	Miss E. H. Thomas	344 Sixth St., Milwaukee.

Socialist Vote in the United States

	1900.	1902		1900.	1902.
Alabama	928	2,312	Nebraska	823	3,157
Arizona		519	Nevada		
*Arkansas	27	27	New Hampshire	790	1,057
California	7,572	9,592	New Jersey	4,609	5,491
Colorado	684	7,360	New York	12,869	23,400
Connecticut	1,741	2,857	North Carolina		
*Delaware	57	57	North Dakota	518	1,245
*Florida	603	603	Ohio	4,847	14,270
Georgia			Oklahoma	815	1,963
Idaho		1,800	Oregon	1,494	3,532
Illinois	9,087	20,167	Pennsylvania	4,831	21,910
Indiana	2,374	7,134	Rhode Island		
Iowa	2,742	6,360	South Carolina		
Kansas	1,605	4,078	South Dakota	176	2,620
Kentucky	760	1,886	*Tennessee	410	410
Louisiana			Texas	1,846	3,513
Maine	878	1,974	Utah	717	2,927
*Maryland	908	908	*Vermont	371	371
Massachusetts	9,716	33,629	*Virginia	225	225
Michigan	2,826	4,261	Washington	1,609	4,739
Minnesota	3,065	5,143	*West Virginia	286	286
Mississippi			Wisconsin	7,095	15,957
Missouri	6,128	5,335	Wyoming		552
Montana	708	2,466	Total	98,424	225,903

In Arizona, Idaho and Wyoming the Socialist Party entered the political field for the first time in 1902. In the eight States marked with a star there were no State elections in 1902, and the vote for the national ticket in 1900 is carried forward for the latter year.

The Socialist Vote of the World

AUSTRIA.		GREAT BRITAIN.	
1897	750,000	1895	55,000
1900	600,000	1900	100,000
BELGIUM.		HOLLAND.	
1894	320,000	1901	39,000
1900	403,000	ITALY.	
DENMARK.		1895	78,350
1872	268	1897	120,000
1876	1,076	1900	170,841
1881	1,689	NORWAY.	
1884	6,806	1900	7,440
1887	8,408	1903	24,770
1890	17,232	SERVIA.	
1892	20,094	1895	50,000
1895	31,872	SPAIN.	
1901	42,972	1891	5,000
1903	55,479	1893	7,000
FRANCE.		1898	20,000
1887	47,000	1899	23,000
1889	120,000	1901	25,000
1893	440,000	SWITZERLAND.	
1898	700,000	1890	13,500
1900	880,000	1893	20,800
GERMANY.		1896	35,000
1867	30,000	UNITED STATES.	
1871	101,000	1888	2,000
1874	351,952	1892	21,518
1877	493,288	1894	30,180
1878	437,158	1896	34,800
1881	311,661	1897	36,077
1884	549,090	1898	55,890
1887	763,128	1899	82,204
1890	1,427,298	1900	98,424
1893	1,876,738	1902	225,000
1898	2,113,073		
1903	3,008,000		

The Socialist Press in the United States

SOCIALIST PARTY PAPERS

ENGLISH WEEKLIES.

Alliance of the Rockies, The.....	420 Charles Bldg., Denver, Colo.
Appeal to Reason	Girard, Kan.
Chicago Socialist	163 Randolph St., Chicago, Ill.
Common People, The.....	Stillwater, Okla.
Crisis, The.....	Salt Lake City, Utah.
Erie People	26 E. Fifth St., Erie, Pa.
Free Citizen, The.....	Danville, Ill.
Iowa Socialist	6th and Iowa Sts., Dubuque, Iowa.
Laramie Times	Laramie, Wyo.
Long Island Leader.....	Long Island, Kan.
Los Angeles Socialist	Los Angeles, Cal.
Montana News	Lewistown, Mont.
New Time, The.....	Spokane, Wash.
Prosper Record, The.....	Prosser, Wash.
Referendum, The.....	Faribault, Minn.
Social Democratic Herald, The.....	344 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Socialist, The	116 Virginia St., Seattle, Wash.
Worker, The	184 William St., New York, N. Y.

ENGLISH MONTHLIES.

Comrade, The	11 Cooper Square, New York, N. Y.
Grander Age, The	Biloxi, Miss.
International Socialist Review, The.....	36 Fifth Ave., Chicago, Ill.
Social Ethics	Wichita, Kan.
Socialist Review, The.....	724 Dodd St., West Hoboken, N. J.
Vanguard, The	Green Bay, Wis.
Wilshire's Magazine	125 E. 23d St., New York, N. Y.

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

GERMAN.

Arbeiter Zeitung	22 North 4th St., St. Louis, Mo.
Die Wahrheit	344 Sixth St., Milwaukee, Wis.
Neues Leben	119 E. Lake St., Chicago, Ill.
Tageblatt, The (Daily).....	Philadelphia, Pa.
Vorwaerts, The	184 William St., New York, N. Y.
Volkszeitung, The (Daily).....	184 William St., New York, N. Y.
Volksblatt	Sheboygan, Wis.

FRENCH.

L'Union des Travailleurs	Charleroi, Pa.
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BOHEMIAN.

Spravedlnost	721 Allport St., Chicago, Ill.
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ITALIAN.

Avanti	239 Washington St., Newark, N. J.
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FOREIGN LANGUAGES—(Continued.)

JEWISH.

Forward183½ Division St., New York, N. Y.

NORWEGIAN.

Nye NormandenTribune Building, Minneapolis, Minn.

POLISH.

Robotnik627 Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, Ill.

SLAVONIC.

Glas. Svobode563 Throop St., Chicago, Ill.

SOCIALIST AND TRADES UNION PAPERS

American Labor Union Journal.....Haymarket Bldg., Chicago, Ill.
 Brauer Zeitung (English-German).....Odd Fellows Temple, Cincinnati, Ohio.
 Cleveland Citizen193 Champlain St., Cleveland, Ohio.
 Courier-Herald174 S. Main St., Wilkes-Barre, Pa.
 Exponent, The121 N. Baum St., Saginaw, Mich.
 Laborers' JournalDayton, Ohio.
 Miner's Magazine625 Mining Exch. Bldg., Denver, Colo.
 Register, TheCentral City, S. D.
 Toiler, The422 Ohio St., Terre Haute, Ind.
 Union Sentinel214 Reed St., Reading, Pa.
 Workers' Gazette203 South 13th St., Omaha, Neb.

Errata: Page 214, following should be recorded on Roll Call on Trades Union Resolution: Dalton, Mance, Meyer and Taft of Illinois, Ash of Colorado, Neal of Kansas, McFarlan and Walter of Michigan, Klein of Minnesota, Knecht of Missouri, Wilshire, Bush, Hawley, Riley of New York, Haight and Thams of North Dakota, Ammann of Wisconsin; not voting; Mayell of New York voting "yes."

Index

A

Acceptance, Speech of, Eugene V. Debs
 —254-256.
 Acceptance, Speech of, Ben. Hauford—
 223-226.
 Adjournment sine die—300.
 Amendment of Constitution—160.
 Ammann, Henry J.—16, 40.
 Anielewski, H.—43, 45.
 Appeal to Reason—81, 86, 88, 92, 93, 97,
 119, 120.
 Appendix—301-330.
 Ash, William—16.
 Atkinson, Warren—16, 39, 41, 214.
 Auditing Committee—
 Appointment of—40.
 Report of—279.
 Discharge of—279.
 Ault, Erwin B.—16, 37, 40, 73, 214.
 Ayres, Hugh G.—16, 214.

B

Bacon, Geo. W.—16, 39, 41, 214.
 Bandlow, Robert—14, 16, 28, 39, 40, 41,
 51, 82, 84, 187, 214, 223.
 Barnes, J. Mahlon—16, 17, 30, 38, 40,
 41, 44, 51, 65, 68, 83, 84, 97, 104,
 109, 111, 140, 187, 223, 236, 238.
 Barrett, William—16, 18, 43, 214.
 Behrens, E. T.—16, 37, 39, 187, 214.
 Benesi, William L.—16, 38, 39, 41, 77,
 78, 138, 214, 233, 249.
 Bennett, John W.—16, 214.
 Berger, Victor L.—16, 22, 26, 33, 37, 41,
 42, 51, 52, 62, 63, 68, 74, 90, 105,
 109, 128, 130, 140, 141, 145, 159, 187,
 203, 210, 211, 214, 221, 222, 235, 236,
 237, 265, 267, 269, 272, 273, 279, 284,
 285, 286.
 Berlyn, Bernard—14, 16, 22, 25, 38, 39,
 40, 41, 51, 63, 67, 68, 83, 139, 140,
 189, 190, 191, 194, 208, 209, 214, 219,
 223, 231, 260, 290, 298, 300.
 Bickett, C. A.—14, 16, 22, 39, 41, 44, 51,
 64, 65, 68, 114, 115, 118, 127, 147,
 151, 154, 155, 158, 159, 166, 168, 181,
 214, 265.
 Bistorius, H. W.—14, 16, 43.

Block, Samuel—16, 38, 72, 214.
 Born, Jacob W.—16, 214.
 Bosky, Edward—16, 214, 256, 271, 272,
 292.
 Brandt's Hall—13.
 Brandt, Herman—16, 52, 184, 214.
 Brandt, W. M.—16, 37, 97, 134, 179, 180,
 181, 190, 214, 236, 242.
 Brattland, M. A.—16, 214.
 Breckon, Chas. L.—16, 41, 51, 86, 214,
 266.
 Brewery Workmen, Telegram from—32.
 Brockhausen, F.—54.
 Brower, James H.—16, 22, 31, 37, 128,
 199, 189, 214, 246.
 Buffalo, N. Y., Telegram from—32.
 Bureau, International Socialist—29.
 Bureau, International Socialist, Report
 of—226, 228.
 Burrows, Peter E.—16, 38, 39, 41, 214.
 Bush, C. A.—16.
 Buswick Junction, N. Y., Telegram
 from—32.
 Butscher, William—16, 38, 40, 162, 214.

C

California Delegates, Case in Respect
 to Seating—15.
 Campaign Committee—208.
 Campaign Fund, National—279.
 Candidates for Public Office, Eligibility
 of—287.
 Carey, James F.—13, 14, 16, 19, 24, 30,
 41, 44, 51, 52, 53, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70,
 73, 76, 77, 80, 168, 173, 174, 184, 185,
 188, 189, 191, 198, 199, 212, 214,
 220, 223, 235, 236, 274.
 Carr, Edward E.—16, 27, 37, 39, 45, 71,
 95, 98, 99, 113, 121, 122, 123, 125,
 162, 179, 214, 235, 236, 240, 251, 252,
 261, 267, 269, 275, 287, 289, 291, 293,
 296.
 Causces Secret, Resolution on—167,
 168.
 Cincinnati, Ohio, Telegram from—32.
 Clark, W. E.—16, 38, 39, 40, 150, 156,
 214, 286, 296.
 Cleveland, Ohio, Telegram from—14.
 Cobb, John L.—16, 38, 40, 214.

- Cogswell, Eleanor G.—16, 37, 103, 187, 214, 235, 242, 244.
- Collins, John—16, 41, 51, 70, 76, 169, 183, 187, 189, 214, 238, 272, 275, 291.
- Colorado Outrage—Resolution on—105, 166, 167. Appendix—322.
- Committees—
- Auditing—40, 279.
 - Campaign—298.
 - Constitution—38, 40, 81, 98-162, 284-291, 296, 297.
 - Credentials—13, 17, 42-51, 54, 97, 277.
 - Foreign Speaking Organizations—45, 54, 281-283.
 - Local Quorum—62, 277, 279.
 - Platform—37, 38, 39, 63, 215, 277, 278, 293, 299.
 - Press—40, 52, 84, 85, 98, 163, 164.
 - Resolutions—39, 41, 52, 63-66, 165-175, 276, 277.
 - Rules—14, 20-37.
 - State and Municipal Program—24, 26, 39, 41, 63, 239.
 - Trades Union Resolutions—35, 36, 40, 41, 51, 75, 76, 175, 176, 206, 283, 284.
 - Ways and Means—40, 278, 279.
- Communications—34, 32, 54, 62, 75, 238.
- Compensation of Speakers, Resolutions Concerning—170. Appendix—323.
- Congress, International Socialist—29, 227, 229, 230.
- Constitution—
- Committee on, Nominations for—38.
 - Committee, Election of—40.
 - Report of Committee—81, 98-162.
 - Discussion of—98-162.
 - Amendment of—160.
 - Final Action on—284-291.
 - Referendum on—291-293, 296, 297.
 - Final Form of, Appendix—310-314.
- Conventions, National—145-148.
- Credentials—
- Committee on, Election of—13, 14.
 - Report of Committee—15, 16, 17.
 - Supplementary Reports—42-51, 54, 97.
 - Discharge of Committee—277.
- Cross, Ira B.—17, 70, 84, 163, 189, 190, 191, 214, 237.
- Curtis, A. P. Byron—16, 63, 113, 214.
- D
- Daily Call*, Resolutions on New York—168.
- Dalton, William—16, 32, 39, 77, 86, 89, 91, 93, 94, 96, 129, 139, 145, 146, 155, 168, 170, 180, 185, 230, 240, 242, 245, 246, 265, 275, 293, 295, 298.
- Debs, Eugene V.—16, 37, 39, 75, 214, 220, 221, 222, 223, 249, 254-255, 279, 280.

- Debs, A.—43, 45.
- Delegates, List of, 16, Appendix—301-305.
- Delegates to International Congress—229-236, 297, 298.
- Deutzman, Charles P.—14, 16, 31, 39, 41, 51, 80, 94, 170, 175, 214, 283.
- Dilno, Fred—16, 36, 39, 41, 97, 140, 206, 214, 223, 248, 288.
- Dobbs, Charles—13, 16, 17, 38, 40, 41, 51, 54, 62, 79, 80, 118, 168, 187, 214, 215, 238, 279.
- Dressler, Gustave—16, 40, 214.
- Dues to the National Organizer—154-159.
- E
- Elser, Richard—16.
- Ehret, William—16, 214.
- F
- Farrell, Daniel P.—16, 36, 39, 40, 51, 72, 81, 113, 170, 174, 181, 184, 185, 186, 190, 214.
- Financial Statement of National Secretary—61, 62.
- Flanagan, Peter J.—16, 214.
- Floaten, A. H.—14, 16, 39, 41, 42, 45, 170, 183, 121, 127, 143, 214, 221, 238, 262.
- Forbes, James—16, 214.
- Ford, Edwin B.—16, 214, 215, 239, 240, 242, 243.
- Foreign-Speaking Organization—
- Committee on—45-54.
 - Report of Committee—281-283.
- G
- Gaghardi, Frank—214.
- Gayer, William L.—14, 16, 167, 214.
- Gaylord, Winfield R.—14, 16, 29, 21, 22, 24, 26, 27, 28, 29, 39, 35, 38, 39, 41, 42, 45, 46, 81, 144, 152, 156, 157, 161, 162, 187, 201, 202, 212, 213, 214, 231, 233, 238, 241, 270, 281, 282, 286, 289, 290, 296, 298.
- Gerber, Julius—16, 29, 31, 33, 37, 38, 40, 159, 214.
- Germany, Cablegram from—54.
- Germany, Cablegram to—62.
- Gibbs, Howard A.—16, 39, 41, 51, 100, 101, 102, 145, 147, 192, 103, 214.
- Gilbertson, A. N.—16, 214.
- Glanz, William—16, 41, 51, 100, 156, 214.
- Goazion, Louis—16, 32, 39, 40, 104, 135, 136, 144, 176, 190, 214, 235, 269, 270.
- Goss, Martin—16, 100, 160, 214.

- Gridley, A. T., Case of Delegate—42, 43, 44, 46, 39, 106.
- Gritschke, O., Telegram from—15.
- H
- Hagerty, T. J.—43, 44, 45.
- Halm and Goeller, Telegram from—32.
- Hanford, Ben—16, 28, 33, 37, 39, 41, 51, 54, 65, 187, 204, 205, 214, 222, 223-226, 280, 288, 291, 296.
- Harrack, A.—16.
- Hawkins, J. W.—16, 40, 180, 214, 267.
- Hayes, Max—5-14, 16, 19, 38, 39, 40, 41, 51, 52, 65, 70, 75, 76, 78, 79, 84, 173, 174, 183, 184, 189, 190, 206, 212, 214, 221, 231, 232, 235, 236, 238, 265, 274, 283, 284, 288, 290, 291, 298, 299.
- Hayes, Roy—16, 38, 97, 214, 238.
- Hayman, Alexander—16, 38, 45, 214.
- Hazlett, Ida Crouch—16, 39, 41, 139, 151, 155, 214, 223, 235, 236, 259, 263, 264, 287, 293.
- Headquarters, Location of—160.
- Heath, Frederick—54, 97, 214.
- Helfenstein, Edgar—15.
- Herron, George D.—16, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 214, 215, 218, 219, 220, 225, 228, 233, 235, 269, 283, 239, 253, 254, 272, 275, 278, 279.
- Heydrick, Charles—16, 20, 39, 41, 100, 214, 257.
- Hibbard, A. A., Telegram from—75.
- Hillguitt, Morris—16, 20, 24, 33, 37, 38, 40, 78, 81, 97, 98-162 (as Chairman of Committee on Constitution)—160, 187, 190, 212, 214, 215, 219, 221, 222, 229, 230, 231, 235, 237, 239, 242, 243, 262, 263, 264, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 274, 275, 282, 284, 286, 291, 292, 295, 297, 298.
- Hirt, John—40, 214.
- Hoelck, C. H.—16, 27, 37, 39, 40, 41, 51, 54, 66, 76, 79, 91, 110, 160, 176, 177, 189, 190, 214, 233, 236.
- Hollenberger, Matt—16, 40, 51, 120, 142, 145, 214, 287.
- Holman, S. M.—16, 38, 40, 214.
- Hudson County, N. J., Telegram from—32.
- Hunger, Jacob—16, 41, 51, 176, 214.
- Hyland, P. J.—16, 39, 214, 286.
- I
- Immediate Demands; Resolution from Denver—238.
- Inderslet, William, Telegram from—32.
- Initiative and Referendum—159.
- International Secretary, Report of—226-228.

- International Socialist Bureau—
- Report of—226-228.
 - Support to—228, 229.
 - Election of Delegates to—229-236.
 - Credentials for Delegates to—207, 298.
- J
- Jacobsen, John J.—16, 35, 38, 40, 41, 51, 54, 124, 143, 214, 204.
- Johnson, Carrie L.—16, 33, 40, 164, 172, 214, 204.
- Jonas, Alexander—16, 37, 38, 40, 54, 75, 76, 77, 80, 106, 196, 214, 218, 250, 253.
- K
- Kalinsky, William, Telegram from—32.
- Katayama, Sen J.—24.
- Kelin, Charles, as International Delegate, Credentials to—208.
- Keller, Paul—16, 214.
- Kelly, John J.—16, 39, 41, 52, 214.
- Keown, J. A.—16, 17, 38, 39, 49, 105, 106, 107, 171, 174, 179, 214.
- Kerrigan, John—16, 18, 19, 25, 27, 38, 39, 40, 113, 116, 127, 130, 136, 153, 164, 173, 174, 177, 185, 188, 189, 214, 228, 231, 236, 240, 256, 278.
- Klein, Nicholas—16, 32, 38, 39, 41, 97.
- Knowles, Freeman—16, 39, 41, 131, 214.
- Kolachney, James V.—16, 105, 214, 238.
- Kraybill, Luella R.—16, 38, 39, 41, 42, 51, 104, 214, 263.
- Kronenberg, Carl—14, 16, 38, 214.
- Kuntz, Frank—54.
- L
- Lamb, Clayton J.—16, 37, 38, 40, 131, 134, 182, 183, 190, 214, 235, 236.
- Langworthy, R. O.—16, 39, 41, 51, 145, 214, 275, 282.
- Latham, Ernest B.—39, 41, 45, 214.
- Lecture Bureau, National—139-143.
- Lee, Algernon—14, 15, 16, 17, 37, 38, 39, 41, 42-51 (as Chairman of Committee on Credentials)—54, 77, 78, 79, 214, 282.
- Le Fevre, Dr. Wells—16, 38, 45, 113, 214.
- Leonard, George B.—37, 39, 40, 51, 54, 66, 70, 214.
- Liedertafel Freiheit—15.
- Lipscomb, Caleb—16, 39, 41, 214.
- Liss, J.—43, 45.
- Literature Bureau, National—143, 144, 145.
- Local Quorum—
- Report of—62.
 - Discharge of Committee on—277.

Loudermills, A. S.—16, 39, 41, 214.
 Lovett, Samuel—15.
 Lucas, Thomas H.—16, 38, 72, 88, 168,
 171, 185, 186, 213, 214, 242, 255.
 Lund, O.—16, 38, 40, 89, 214.

M

Mahoney, Cornelius—16, 94, 214, 299.
 Mailly, William—13, 16, 31, 37, 39, 40,
 41, 50, 51, 54-61, 62, 71, 74, 82, 100,
 105, 106, 108, 116, 117, 127, 130,
 132, 136, 137, 138, 146, 147, 148, 150,
 187, 210, 214, 235, 236, 238, 279, 280,
 286, 288, 289, 294, 298, 299.
 Mance, A. W.—16, 79.
 Markert—16, 214.
 Marriage, Resolution on—234.
 Marsella, Singing of—173, 300.
 Martin, Charles R.—204.
 Maurer, James M.—16, 41, 51, 206, 207,
 208, 214, 241.
 Mayell, Alfred A.—42.
 McEachern, Duncan B.—16, 167, 180,
 214.
 McFarlan, James H.—14, 16, 38, 40.
 McGrady, Thomas—16, 38, 214.
 McKee, Harry M.—16, 38, 40, 54, 89,
 116, 214.
 Membership, Qualifications for—99.
 Menton, John A.—16, 30, 37, 38, 41, 51,
 129, 214, 235.
 Meyer, Theo.—16, 27, 38, 39, 40, 41, 44,
 62, 68, 127, 128, 131, 142, 143, 144,
 159, 162, 215, 265, 268, 272, 273, 275,
 276, 277.
 Miller, Guy E.—16, 24, 25, 26, 35, 37,
 38, 40, 51, 75, 76, 90, 120, 128, 131,
 153, 202, 213, 214, 235, 250, 261, 262,
 279.
 Mills, Walter Thomas—16, 23, 38, 39,
 40, 44, 48, 51, 67, 68, 69, 70, 95,
 96, 97, 98, 99, 107, 111, 112, 124,
 141, 157, 158, 186, 214, 242, 253, 256,
 270, 273, 274, 285, 286, 294, 295, 296.
 Monesson, Pa., Telegram from—35.
 Moore, Edward—16, 30, 41, 51, 52, 214.
 Morgan, Thos. J.—16, 19, 40, 70, 97,
 120, 136, 162, 181, 183, 184, 185, 186,
 189, 190, 214.
 Municipal Program—
 Discussion of Committee on—22-26.
 Report of Committee on—97.
 (See also State and Municipal Pro-
 gram.)
 Murray, James S.—16, 214.

N

Nagel, Adam—16, 32, 38, 39, 41, 51, 63,
 76, 80, 87, 93, 110, 113, 116, 146, 151,
 154, 165, 214, 218, 238.

Name of Socialist Party—98.
 National Committee—
 Representation on—112, 113.
 Meetings of—114.
 Duties and Powers of—116, 117.
 National Committee—
 Method of Electing—113, 114.
 Complete List of—Appendix, 325.
 National Executive Committee—
 How Composed and Elected—121-127.
 Reports of—127, 128.
 National Lecture Bureau—139-143.
 National Literature Bureau—143-145.
 National Secretary—
 Report of—54-61.
 Financial Statement of—61, 62.
 Salary of—129-137.
 Duties of—138.
 Neal, W. S.—16.
 Newman—214.
 New York Socialist Literary Society,
 Telegram from—32.

O

Odalski, S.—43, 45.
 Office-Holders, Admission of, to Party
 —105.
 O'Malley, Malcolm G.—38, 42, 115, 116,
 212, 214.
 Oneal, James—16, 30, 31, 37, 39, 41, 151,
 153, 214, 223.
 Order of Business in Convention—29, 34.
 Oswald, Walter L.—16, 38, 40, 99, 214,
 231.
 Ott, Frederick W.—54, 121, 123, 124,
 125, 177, 178, 189, 190, 214, 215,
 274.
 Outram, Alfred B.—16, 38, 40, 67, 214.

P

Palmer, T. E.—16, 40, 41, 51, 214.
 Parks, W. R.—16, 18, 26, 27, 45, 50, 54,
 69, 71, 81, 84, 94, 112, 126, 127, 144,
 147, 151, 188, 191, 196, 213, 215, 215,
 230, 241, 242, 247, 248, 249, 275, 280,
 292, 293, 299.
 Party Organ, Official—85-96, 118-120.
 Patton, John J.—16, 38, 39, 41, 116, 187,
 214, 215.
 Penrose, William—14, 16, 38, 214.
 Phelan, J. E.—16, 19, 20, 37, 38, 39, 68,
 70, 84, 85, 119, 126, 127, 139, 141,
 203, 204, 214, 235, 274, 275, 296.
 Plate Matter, Socialist—163, 164.
 Platform, National, of the Socialist
 Party—
 Committee on, Nominations for—37,
 38.
 Committee Elected—39.
 Report of Committee—63, 215-218, 277.

Discharge of Committee—278.
 Referendum on—293.
 Resolution on Printing of—299.
 Platform as Adopted—Appendix, 306-
 309.
 Polish Socialist Alliance—43, 45.
 (See also Foreign-Speaking Organi-
 zation.)
 Potter, O. C.—16, 214.
 Press, Capitalist, Party Officials on—
 276.
 Press Committee—
 Appointed—40, 52.
 Report of—84, 85, 98, 163, 164.
 Discussion of Report—85-97.
 Press, Socialist and Trades Union—Ap-
 pendix, 320, 330.
 Proebstle Joseph, Telegram from—32.
 Program—
 Municipal, Discussion on—22-26.
 Committee on State and Municipal—
 Nominations for—39.
 Election of—41, 52.
 Report of—63, 239.
 Debate on Report of—241-254, 256-
 276.
 State and Municipal, As Referred—
 Appendix, 315-330.
 Protest against J. Stitt Wilson—15.
 Putnam, Wilbur—16, 39, 41, 214.

R

Raible, Hugh J.—16, 39, 214.
 Randall, Charles—43, 50, 51.
 Rathbun, John H.—16, 39, 41, 214.
 Referendum, National Party—148-151.
 Referendum on Constitution—291, 296,
 297.
 Referendum on Platform—293.
 Regulation of Speakers, Resolution
 on—64, 65, 170—Appendix, 323.
 Reilly, James M.—41, 214, 233, 263, 268.
 Reno, Nevada, Telegram from—75.
 Renshaw, Achilles W.—16, 40, 214.
 Reports of—
 Committee, Auditing—279.
 Committee on Credentials—15, 16, 17,
 42-51, 54, 97.
 Committee on Constitution—81, 98-
 162.
 Committee on Foreign-Speaking Or-
 ganization—281-283.
 Committee on Press—84, 85, 98, 164.
 Committee on Platform—63, 215-218,
 277.
 Committee on Resolutions—64-66, 165-
 175, 276-277.
 Committee on Rules—20-37.
 Committee on State and Municipal
 Program—63, 239.

Committee on Trades Union Resolu-
 tions—75-76, 175-176, 205, 283,
 284.
 Committee on Ways and Means—278.
 International Secretary—226-228.
 Local Quorum—62.
 National Secretary—54-62.
 Resolutions on—
 Army and Militia, Propagating So-
 cialism in—277.
 Caucuses, Secret—167, 168.
 Colorado Outrages—165-167.
 Compensation of Speakers and Or-
 ganizers, 64, 65, 170.
 Daily Call, New York—168.
 Immediate Demands (Denver)—238,
 239.
 International Delegate—229, 230.
 Marriage—294.
 National Campaign Fund—279.
 Press, Capitalist, Party Officials on
 (State of Washington)—276.
 Press, Party—84-96.
 Regulation of Speakers—65, 170.
 Russo-Japanese War—66, 169, 170.
 Belonging to Non-Socialist Party Or-
 ganizations (San Francisco)—65,
 276.
 Trades Union—76, 175, 176. Substi-
 tutes for—177, 178, 201.
 Unattached Socialists—209.
 As Adopted by Convention—Appen-
 dix, 322-324.
 Resolutions Committee—
 Nominations for—39.
 Elected—41, 52.
 Report of Committee—63-66, 165-
 175, 276, 277.
 Discharge of Committee—277.
 Reynolds, Stephen M.—39, 41, 42, 52,
 62, 63, 214, 235, 277.
 Richardson, N. A.—13, 14, 16, 31, 37,
 38, 39, 40, 44, 45, 50, 54, 62, 80, 97,
 99, 152, 166, 188, 214, 223, 284, 285,
 291, 292.
 Ricker, H. W.—62.
 Ringer, Robert H.—16, 214.
 Robbins, Sam—14, 16, 31, 37, 157, 214.
 Robinson, T. L.—20, 39, 40, 41, 51, 74,
 81, 98, 138, 139, 211, 214, 235, 236,
 286.
 Rockefeller, John D.—40.
 Roll Call, Rule on—33, 34, 35.
 Roll Call on Trades Union Resolutions
 —214.
 Rose, Sumner W.—14, 27, 38, 70, 78,
 86, 113, 119, 139, 140, 141, 151, 187,
 214, 242, 252, 268.
 Rubinow, David—16, 40, 214.
 Rules of Convention—
 Committee on—14.

Report of Committee—20-37.
 Minority Report of Committee—21.
 Discussion on—22-37.
 As Adopted—Appendix, 321.
 Russo-Japanese War, Resolutions on—
 66, 169, 170—Appendix, 323.

S.

San Francisco Resolution on Press—
 84-96.
 Saunders—80, 144, 146, 147, 159, 162.
 Schluter, Herman F., as International
 Delegate, Credentials to—297, 298.
 Secretaries, State—Appendix, 326.
 Seidel, Emil—54, 127, 128, 214.
 Selecting Time for Nominations—66.
 Sergeants-at-Arms—15, 26.
 Sessions—

First Day—13-23.
 Morning—1, 2.
 Afternoon—2-23.
 Second Day—24-53.
 Morning—24-32.
 Afternoon—34-53.
 Third Day—54-80.
 Afternoon—54-80.
 Evening—80-96.
 Fourth Day—97-186.
 Morning—97-118.
 Afternoon—118-163.
 Evening—163-186.
 Fifth Day—187-237.
 Morning—187-210.
 Afternoon—210-237.
 Sixth Day—238-300.
 Morning—238-256.
 Afternoon—256-300.

Sieverman, Frank—14, 16, 39, 41, 32, 36,
 38, 41, 46, 51, 60, 71, 82, 83, 82, 97,
 118, 136, 181, 185, 187, 188, 190, 214,
 223, 249, 265, 280, 284, 285, 286, 288,
 290.

Simons, A. M.—16, 23, 34, 37, 38, 39,
 40, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 94, 95, 96, 107,
 108, 112, 113, 120, 126, 141, 159, 163,
 164, 169, 214, 235, 237, 239, 241, 265,
 267, 270, 275, 280.

Simons, May Wood—235, 236, 237.

Singing Society, Socialist—13, 15.

Slobodin, Henry L.—14, 16, 21, 28, 36,
 38, 39, 40, 41, 63, 64, 66, 67, 70, 71,
 73, 75, 81, 94, 138, 169, 172, 173,
 174, 187, 188, 202, 213, 214, 215, 249,
 265, 266, 267, 286, 287.

Smith, Duncan M.—16, 40, 63, 83, 85,
 91, 92, 93, 122, 214, 299.

Smith, Irene—16, 18, 39, 30, 41, 90, 94,
 95, 97, 110, 143, 139, 150, 176, 178,
 187, 190, 200, 213, 214, 237, 242, 243,
 280, 287, 297.

Smith, James S.—15, 16, 39, 40, 214,
 235, 236, 281, 282.

Snyder, J. E.—16, 38, 39, 54, 214.
 South Dakota Delegate, Case in Re-
 spect to—15.

Southworth, R. A.—16, 38, 39, 41, 52,
 68, 69, 74, 149, 187, 214.

Spargo, John—16, 20, 26, 33, 34, 35, 38,
 39, 41, 42, 45, 48, 51, 63, 04-66, (as
 Chairman of Res. Com.)—74, 77, 79,
 91, 92, 106, 113, 134, 135, 148,
 158, 165-175 (as Chairman of
 Res. Com.)—185, 186, 190, 209, 210,
 211, 213, 214, 215, 228, 232, 235, 237,
 263, 264, 276, 277, 287, 288, 290, 293.

Speakers and Organizers, Resolutions
 on—64, 65, 170.

Spears, W. Harry—26, 83, 132, 149, 141,
 144, 148, 162, 176, 177, 203, 204, 214,
 273, 274, 275, 283, 287, 290.

Speech of Acceptance by Debs—254,
 255.

Speech of Acceptance by Hanford—223,
 226.

Spence, J. M. A.—16, 37, 39, 41, 54, 76,
 77, 78, 214.

Stanton, W. A.—13, 15, 16, 17, 214.
 Debate Concerning Committee—24.
 Rule Adopted Concerning Commit-
 tee—26.

Committee on, Nominations for—39.
 Committee Elected—41, 52.

Report of Committee—63, 239.
 State and Municipal Program—

Debate on Report—241-254, 256-276.
 Form of Program, as ordered sent to
 National Committee—Appendix,
 316-320.

Stedman, Seymour—14, 16, 19, 21, 23,
 35, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 51,
 52, 63, 81, 83, 84, 122, 140, 154, 157,
 160, 161, 162, 171, 187, 203, 213, 214,
 219, 221, 228, 229, 237, 238, 257, 264,
 268, 270, 288, 289, 298, 299.

Stockell, C. H.—40, 54, 214.

Stonington, Conn., Telegram from—32.
 Strickland, Frederick G.—54, 292, 293,
 297, 300.

Strobel, G. H.—16, 34, 37, 39, 40, 41, 98,
 159, 164, 214.

T.

Taft, M. H.—14, 16, 19, 20, 21, 24, 37,
 69, 72, 74, 82, 81, 99, 123, 143, 189,
 218, 240, 241, 275.

Telegrams—14, 15, 32, 54, 62, 75.
 Thams, Thomas—16, 121, 124, 144, 267.

Thomas, E. H.—16, 39, 214.

Time of Speakers Limited—26, 27, 28, 29.

Titus, Herman F.—14, 16, 37, 39, 43,
 46, 111, 116, 117, 131, 134, 135, 137,
 149, 150, 211, 214, 221, 226, 234, 235,
 238, 259, 267, 269, 276, 277, 288, 289,
 290, 291, 292, 293.

Toole, William A.—16, 41, 49, 51, 85,
 86, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 97, 98, 99, 101,
 105, 118, 119, 120, 135, 136, 148, 150,
 151, 181, 187, 194, 201, 214, 237, 253.

Toomey, Ernest—10, 83, 147, 168, 214.

Trades Union Resolutions—
 Discussion of Committee on—35, 36.
 Committee on, Nominations for—49,
 41.

Committee Elected—51.
 Report of Committee—75, 76, 175, 176,
 206.

Discussion of Report—76-80, 175-213.
 Report of Resolutions Committee on
 —172-175.

Substitutes for—177, 178, 201.
 Roll Call on—214.

Supplementary Report of Committee
 —283, 284.

Discharge of Committee—284.
 As Adopted by Convention—Appendix,
 324.

Triller, A. A.—294.

Turner, George H.—16, 27, 28, 29, 31,
 37, 38, 40, 41, 51, 214.

U.
 Ufert, Charles—16, 38, 39, 101, 102, 128,
 214, 261.

Ufert, Ferdinand, Telegram from—32.
 Untermyer, Ernest—16, 18, 39, 42, 46,
 165, 166, 214, 235, 237, 239, 241, 242,
 243, 247, 248, 249, 250, 269, 271, 272,
 276, 277.

Utah Case—43, 44, 50, 51.

V.

Vote, Socialist, of the United States—
 Appendix, 327.

Vote, Socialist, of the World—Appendix,
 328.

W.

Waldhorst, F. X.—16, 17, 39, 35, 38, 46,
 50, 67, 68, 95, 98, 102, 104, 127, 153,
 160, 214, 234, 238, 290.

Walsh, John H.—39, 40, 42, 51, 87, 209,
 214, 242, 267, 268, 284, 288, 289.

Walter, William E.—51.
 Washington, D. C.—Telegram from—32.
 Wayland, J. A.—85, 93.

Ways and Means—
 Committee on, Nominations for—40.
 Committee Elected—40.

Report of Committee—278.
 Discharge of Committee—279.

Weaver, Herman B.—16, 141, 214, 270,
 290, 295.

Webster, P. F.—16.
 Webster, Warner L.—16, 38, 39, 41, 51,
 76, 80, 81, 87, 92, 93, 97, 98, 104, 105,
 113, 139, 131, 138, 139, 148, 149, 150,
 162, 170, 183, 193, 214, 239, 252, 268,
 269, 270.

Wegner, Otto—16, 214.

Wessling, H. W.—16, 120, 152, 214.

White, Dan A.—14, 16, 33, 35, 37, 40,
 51, 66, 67, 70, 72, 73, 76, 98, 101, 119,
 187, 214.

Whitelatch, William T.—39, 42, 214.

Wilkins, Bertha S.—16, 123, 179, 195,
 196, 214, 247, 250, 295.

Wilkins, M. W.—15, 16, 37, 38, 39, 63,
 97, 168, 187, 214, 221, 238, 241, 268,
 293.

Will, Thomas E.—14, 16, 28, 37, 38,
 39, 101, 104, 111, 214, 221, 239, 262.

Willey, Charles E.—16, 214.

Wishire, Gaylord—16.

Wilson, J. Stitt—15, 16, 17, 38, 39, 41,
 103, 144, 214, 235, 236.

Woodhey, George W.—16, 24, 34, 39,
 45, 47, 73, 74, 132, 139, 141, 142, 148,
 149, 152, 169, 214, 275, 295, 296, 297.

Work, John M.—14, 16, 20, 30, 31, 38,
 39, 42, 62, 214, 235, 260.

Y.

Young, W. C.—16, 38, 40, 104, 105, 214.

Young, Sylvester L. V.—16, 129, 136,
 137, 214, 293.

Z.

Zorn, Julius—38, 78, 103, 126, 214.